

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES:

BEGINNING WITH THE

REIGN OF SOLOMON,

AND ENDING WITH THE

DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

WITH A

PREFATORY DISCOURSE.

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BY THE LATE

THOMAS FALCONER, OF CHESTER, Esq.

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## ADVERTISEMENT OF THE EDITOR.

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THE following work of the late Thomas Falconer, Esq. now submitted to the Public at the request of his Brother, Dr. Falconer, of Bath, by whom it was presented to the University of Oxford, having been entirely finished by the Author, and apparently written over for the Press, is, with one or two exceptions, faithfully published from his manuscript. There are however some few things, as will happen in the case of a posthumous work, which seem to want an apology; and others, in which the Editor, to whom the charge of the publication was committed by the Delegates of the Oxford Press, thought it necessary to make some variation, judging the Author himself would have made the same, upon revising his work, or upon correcting it for the press. With regard to the first, the language is sometimes obscure, the statements are sometimes confused, and the calculations not always minutely accurate. The Reader will understand what is meant, by turning to p. 107 of the Prefatory Discourse, beginning with the last line; for where he says, “ of the Kings of Israel, “ 14 years and about 20 days;” he has wholly omitted to state the data, from which he deduces his average.

That his calculations are not always minutely accurate, may be seen in the following instances. The first occurs in note b, p. 19, where one of the three numbers must be wrong by an unit;—perhaps it was meant that Darius was in his 62d year. The second occurs in note a, p. 103, at the latter end of which, instead of 1137. A. C. we should certainly read 1134. A. C. The last we find at the top of p. 120 of the Prefatory Discourse. “Temenus might be born about 940 before Christ. Reckon up” (by which the Author means, subtract) “250 years, and it brings us to the “year 668, just 22 years before the 28th Olympiad,” &c. Now 940—250 will only bring us to the year 690, and the 22 years before the 28th Olympiad must also be subtracted in order to arrive at 668.

Variations from the MS. have only been admitted, where uniformity in the orthography of proper names had been neglected by the Author, where his references were not correct, and where the sum total of some numbers was evidently erroneous. None, it is apprehended, which do not come under this description, have been admitted, except the following. P. 113. l. 28. of the Prefatory Discourse, Hippomenes 3d. was altered to Hippomenes 4th, because, in his Tables, the Author enumerates before him, 1. Charops, 2. Æfimesdes, and 3. Clidicus. P. 119. of the Tables, year 525 A. C. Ethiopians in the MS. was corrected to Egyptians, on the authority of Ctesias apud Photii Bib. p. 112. to whom the Author himself appealed. It should further be remarked, that the Author's mode of spelling the names of the Babylonish Kings (as written by himself in Greek) from the beginning of the era to the end differed, with such few exceptions, from the era as given by Eusebius, that the Editor concluded the wide difference between them was  
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the result of principle and system, and did not venture to alter it, even where he seemed to have formed his Greek orthography on an English sound.

These little inaccuracies would probably have been corrected, if the work whilst printing had had the benefit of the Author's own inspection. The Editor has been cautious of making any alterations but such as seemed absolutely necessary. He has indeed ventured upon a considerable alteration which runs through the work, viz. in the notation of the Olympiads ; where the meaning of the Author was clear, but his method of notation unusual and obscure : for the rest, except in the instances above mentioned, he has strictly adhered to the copy.

*Jan.* 16, 1796.

F. HODSON.

ADVERTISEMENT



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## ADVERTISEMENT OF THE AUTHOR.

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THE first idea of the following Tables was suggested by observing, that several writers of distinguished abilities and learning had committed some mistakes in adjusting the reigns of the Jewish kings to those of the Eastern monarchs. In order to explain these difficulties, which, it is hoped, are by no means insuperable, the primary view of this work was, to begin with the reign of Solomon, and continue it down only so far as the 6th year of the reign of Darius Hystaspes, when the prophecies relating to the 2d Temple were fulfilled.

But as the collateral assistance of the era of Nabonassar was absolutely necessary, so, had the Tables been concluded at this time, it would have broken that celebrated era abruptly in the middle; whereas, by continuing it on to the close of the first division, viz. to the death of Alexander the Great, it not only tends to illustrate the rise and fall of the Grecian republics, but also the remaining history of the Jews till the Canon of the Scriptures is closed by Nehemiah as an historian, and by Malachi as a prophet. In the prosecution of this work, no attachment has been shewn to any particular system, where there was a possibility of avoiding it; and the authority of chronological compilers is seldom admitted, unless when confirmed by the direct evidence of good historians, who either borrowed from authentic records, or lived near the times concerning which they wrote. To separate truth from error; to distinguish what is probable from what is doubtful; and where facts are not exactly ascertained as to time, to fix them

them within certain limits, has been the Author's sole object. In one part, where historical evidence is wanting, analogical reasoning has been admitted, viz. in the history of ancient Greece before the time of Cyrus, and in the first four reigns of the kings of Media; but all these facts are marked with an asterisk, to distinguish them from those which are grounded on direct evidence; nor are these calculations obtruded on the reader, but submitted with deference, and meant rather to excite than to satisfy enquiry. Should this part, however, be disapproved of by any, it must at least be acknowledged by every impartial reader, that the facts here investigated in relation to ancient Greece, cannot clash with the sacred writings; for, whether we adopt the extended calculations of Eratosthenes, or those more contracted laid down by Sir Isaac Newton, the Scripture history is equally distinct from the profane; and the taking of Troy, wherever it is placed, has no reference to the Jewish history, or any of the kingdoms connected with it.

Thus we may be allowed to enquire into such facts without impeaching the authority of those books, which we are taught on the best grounds to venerate. As for the explanation of the tables with the different series of kings, and the several important events which it may be hoped they may serve to illustrate; all these shall be separately treated of in the following Prefatory Discourse.



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## PREFATORY DISCOURSE.

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A MODERATE acquaintance with Chronology must convince us, that the Jewish history is not reducible to annals any further downwards than the destruction of the Temple, and the desolation of Judea: for the facts during the captivity, and after the return, are not digested into any regular series, but require much accuracy of investigation. To increase the difficulty, the Greek and Roman histories give us no assistance in these early ages, and cannot themselves be reduced into any order until the expedition of Xerxes, when the remainder of the history becomes tolerably clear.

This intermediate space has been filled up according to the various opinions of systematic writers; but if any authentic series of reigns can be found, beginning before the Jewish history is closed, and not ending till the Greek history can be determined by warrantable criteria, it is evident that such a table must effectuate the purpose of arranging the scattered facts; and, by enabling us to connect the sacred with the profane history, remove the principal difficulties in both. Such is the help we may expect from the era of Nabonassar, commonly, but improperly, called the Canon of Ptolemy. This celebrated table is no more than a series of kings who reigned at Babylon from Nabonassar to Alexander the Great, with the years of each set down, and the aggregate of the whole. But small as this information may seem, it is of great importance: since if it can be adjusted to the Jewish and Greek history, it is then easy to settle the collateral accounts of the Babylonians and Assyrians; and, if they be found to coincide, they will establish and confirm each other.

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Now in the list of Babylonish kings there is one called Nabocolassar, who, from the length of his reign and the resemblance of his name, can be no other than Nebuchadnezzar, so particularly mentioned in the sacred books.

The first year of this reign corresponds with the fourth of Jehoiakim. Having this one fixed point, the whole of the table is settled; for we are led upwards to Nabonassar, and again downwards through the empire of Persia to its final period.

As such stress is laid on this table, it is necessary the reader should be assured of its authenticity, lest a suspicion arise that the basis of the work is no more than the ingenious compilation of some later Chronologist, and adjusted to a system formed in his own imagination. Such was the opinion entertained by many of the era of Nabonassar: some have ascribed it to Ptolemy; but Hipparchus, who lived near three centuries before Ptolemy, appeals to it as an authentic register of astronomical observations<sup>a</sup>. The internal evidence in its favour is, the congruity we find in it with the Jewish annals. Thus if Merodach was king of Babylon in the 15th of Hezekiah, according to the Scriptures, and Mardoc is the corresponding name in the era, we can have little difficulty in supposing these two names to signify the same person. If the 37th year of Jechoniah's captivity, which was coeval with the first of Evilmerodach, very nearly corresponds with the first year of Ἰλοαρουδαμὸς in the table, we may conclude that the two names last mentioned were also originally the same, though altered by the Masoretic mode of reading Hebrew, or by the translation of a Chaldee name into Greek. The antiquity of this table has been allowed by all later writers; and having been confirmed by new and forcible arguments by the author of "Critical Observations<sup>b</sup>," it is better to refer the reader to that valuable work, than to weaken his proofs by imperfect quotations.

Yet, although the authenticity of the era of Nabonassar be established, it may still be necessary to explain the mode of computation used therein; which, being somewhat different from the common form, has led

<sup>a</sup> Hipparchus flourished during the reigns of Ptolemy Philometor, and Physcon his successor; Ptolemy the astronomer, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. The intervening space, from the death of Physcon to the

accession of Aurelius, cannot be less than 280 years.

<sup>b</sup> Critical Observations on Books, ancient and modern. Printed for White and Son, Fleet-street.



various compilers into mistakes. The table now before us is the first grand division, consisting of 424 years: it contains not only the years of each reign, but the aggregate of the whole, as has been before mentioned; which two computations serve as a check on each other, and nearly prevent the possibility of error. From hence it arises that, whilst, in other instances, different transcripts of the same author vary in numbers, from using the Greek literal arithmetic, all the manuscripts of this era agree in numbers, though the names are written with some little variation. It is regulated by the Chaldæan year which prevailed in the East, consisting of 365 days without an intercalation; so that it differs from the Julian calendar one day in four years. Now as, by the general consent of all Chronologists, the first year began February the 26th of the year of the Julian period 3697; so, the fifth year from thence will begin with February the 25th. This day was the commencement of the Chaldæan year, and is generally styled the first of the month Thoth, the name of that month in the calendar of Egypt. Thus in the year before Christ 747, I place the first of Nabonassar; but it should be observed, that the figure placed in the upper part of the division towards the right hand does not imply that Nabonassar reigned that whole year, but that he ascended the throne within that year; and the line between 747 A. Chr. and 746 A. Chr. is supposed to express the month Thoth, which is called the end of his first year. Such was the mode of computation in the East very anciently; and by the latest accounts it prevails at this time even in Japan<sup>a</sup>. This is *one* singularity in the table; but care has been taken to remove that difficulty, by marking the commencement of the year according to the Julian calendar. It scarcely needs remarking that, as we proceed, the nearer we approach to the Julian calendar, until we pass beyond the year before Christ 523, which, corresponding with the 7th of Cambyfes, begins with the first of January; and from thence the table gradually deviates again from the Julian computation, insomuch that, at the death of Alexander, the first of Thoth is on the 12th of November. From hence it follows, that in the beginning of the era of Nabonassar a fact might have happened in the year of the Julian period 3967, in January or February, and have belonged to a preceding year in the era: and at the close of the tables in

<sup>a</sup> Thunberg's Account of Japan. Phil. Trans. vol. lxx.



the year of the Julian period 4391, a fact that occurred between November the 12th, and the first of January, would have fallen within the latter part of the former Julian year 4390. This nicety may not be required in the investigation of darker ages, but may be of great use in ascertaining the dates of those times, of which we have more certain accounts. In the following tables the reader must perceive the difficulty of proceeding by any other mode than parallel lines, as the variation is so gradually progressive; but the dates when the Chaldaean year begins will point out the difference between that and the Julian year. From this account it is plain that the era of Nabonassar neither tells us precisely the beginning nor end of a reign. All we know is, for instance, that Nabonassar was king some time in the year before Christ 747, and was succeeded by Nadius some time in the year 733; but as Nadius began his reign before the next Thoth, the whole of the former year is ascribed to him. It will be more easy to explain it by some instances, where we have the collateral evidence of other historians.

Athens was taken in the year before Christ 404, of the Julian period 4310; which put an end to the Peloponnesian war. Now the correspondent year in this era, the aggregate of which is 344, is marked as the first of Artaxerxes Mnemon: but we know Darius Nothus survived the conclusion of the war a *little while*<sup>a</sup>; so that Artaxerxes could reign but a part of this year. Another example is the first year of Alexander the Great. This is marked 417 in the era, and ended on the 14th of November. Now Alexander was not acknowledged by the Eastern nations as king, till after the battle of Arbela, which was fought in October, Julian period 4383, before Christ 331; so that, if the victory was gained early in October, he might easily be acknowledged before the year expired, and the whole of the year would be ascribed to him, though he probably reigned but a few weeks before the next Thoth commenced. Thus, when the era of Nabonassar is rightly understood, the best historians do not differ from, but confirm and illustrate it; and receive in their turn illustration from it. Should it still be objected that several names are mentioned by historians as kings of Babylon, which are not found in the tables of this era, such as, for instance, Laborosoarchod, who is placed next after Neriglissar<sup>b</sup>; and Smerdis the

<sup>a</sup> Diod. Sic. l. 13. p. 389. ed. Rhodomanni.

<sup>b</sup> See the Tables.



Magian, who is placed between Cambyſes and Darius; it may be answered, that thoſe very hiſtorians aſcribe but a few months reign to each of theſe kings. Now as the era is only a register of the beginning of the year, if theſe kings mounted the throne after one Thoth, and were removed before the next, they were of neceſſity omitted in the liſt. Having now explained the nature of this era, it only remains to ſhew why it has been adjusted in the following tables to the Jewish hiſtory, in a different manner from what either Sir Iſaac Newton or Archbiſhop Uſher have done in their reſpective ſystems of Chronology.

The fourth of Jehoiakim is declared by the prophet Jeremiah to correſpond with the firſt of Nebuchadnezzar. But this firſt year both Uſher and Newton ſuppoſe to be prior by two years to that in the era, and that he reigned ſo long in partnership with his father Nebopol-Aſſur. If this opinion be grounded on the authority of Berofus (as twice quoted by Joſephus), his words do not prove the point. All he ſays is, that Nebuchadnezzar was truſted with an army by his father, to quell ſome inſurrections in Syria; and while he was employed in that buſineſs, his father died<sup>a</sup>. This relation is ſo perfectly conſonant to the prophet Daniel, that we have no reaſon to doubt it. For in the firſt chapter and firſt verſe of that Prophet, it is ſaid, “ In the third year of the reign  
“ of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, came Nebuchadnezzar, *king* of Babylon,  
“ unto Jeruſalem, and beſieged it; and the Lord gave Jehoiakim, king  
“ of Judah, into his hand.” He has the title of *king*, we ſee, in the third year of Jehoiakim; but his father was then alive, according to Berofus. In the next year Nebopol-Aſſur moſt probably died, and Nebuchadnezzar reigned ſole monarch of Babylon; and this is his firſt year in Jeremiah. If it be otherwiſe underſtood, viz. that his partnership in the throne began in the fourth of Jehoiakim, what is Daniel’s meaning in calling him king the preceding year? Beſides, thoſe who bring down the 21ſt of Nebopol-Aſſur to the 5th of Jehoiakim, muſt ſuppoſe that Nebuchadnezzar governed jointly with his father, not only two, but at leaſt three years; and even this ſuppoſition will not reconcile the prophets with each other. If we conceive that Daniel alludes to his reigning in *partnership*, and Jeremiah to his reigning *alone*, the accounts are

<sup>a</sup> Hudſoni Joſephus, p. 1342.

conſiſtent,



consistent, and both confirm the relation of the historian Berofus. But if the era of Nabonassar be adjusted in this manner to the Jewish history, the following tables will of necessity differ from Usher and Newton two full years, from the death of Nebuchadnezzar upwards. Thus, for instance, the 4th of Jehoiakim in Newton answers to the year of the era 142, before Christ 606; the taking of Jerusalem, to the year of the era 160, before Christ 588: so that the first year of the Nabonassarean era, as they compute it, is the third year in these tables. Yet as both suppose that Nebuchadnezzar reigned 45 years in the whole, so they agree with this work in placing the first of Evilmerodach in the year 187 of the era, and in the year before Christ 561. This is the only difference; and it is hoped the present plan will be found to be more consistent with the texts of the prophets before mentioned, and not repugnant (as will hereafter be shewn) to the 70 years of captivity.

As for the columns on the left hand, representing the Jewish and Israelitish kingdoms, they have been regulated according to the admirable system of Archbishop Usher, but without implicitly following him year by year. The first column on the left hand is the Julian period; which may be compared with that on the opposite side, denoting the years before the birth of our blessed Saviour, according to the vulgar era. As for the former of these, if any of my readers should be unacquainted with the nature of that celebrated period, it may be found in many authors of easy access<sup>a</sup>. The other column of numbers, adjoining on the right hand of the reader to the chronicle of Israel, is meant to prove the truth of Ezekiel's prediction of 390 years, and may serve as a register of time from that noted epoch, the separation of the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel. The Phœnician annals of Josephus from Hirom to the death of Pygmalion settle, in my opinion, the foundation of Carthage, and are inserted in a part of the tables, otherwise barren of events. But, as the Tyrian register begins before the division of the kingdoms, the reign of Solomon is likewise added, in order to insert that of Hirom, of whom so honourable mention is made in the sacred writings. These same annals are renewed by Josephus, year before Christ 584. The table of Lydian kings begins with Ardifus,

<sup>a</sup> Beveregij Instit. Chron. l. ii. cap. 3, 4, 5, 9.



year before Christ 794. The reigns down to Candaules are four in number, and borrowed from Eusebius. The remaining five to Croesus, are from Herodotus. We shall have occasion to explain them hereafter.

The next calculation of time is that of the *Olympiads*, beginning by general consent in the year before Christ 776, and of the Julian period 3938. It is well known that the Olympic games were performed once every four years; and of consequence the second Olympiad falls out in the year before Christ 772. They were celebrated about the summer solstice, viz. in the middle of a Julian year; and I have therefore adopted the method proposed by the learned author of the *Critical Enquiries*. In the column of the Julian period they are thus written,  $3939\frac{1}{2}$ , to shew that that year of the Julian period includes the last six months of the first Olympic year, and the first six months of the second; which is not completed till the summer of the next year.

This distinction of time is necessary to reconcile those writers who followed the Attic year, which began about the summer solstice, with those who adjust the Olympiads to the Roman year. For the same reason, as the Archons of Athens were elected when the Olympic year was beginning, they too are placed in the middle of the opposite column on the same parallel with the Olympiads; and, as the name of the Archon is generally mentioned, there is a tolerable agreement in the Greek historians, when the mode of computation is understood. Thus, for instance, Thucydides informs us that the Peloponnesian war began when Pythodorus was Archon. Diodorus gives that year the name of Euthydemus, who succeeded Pythodorus, yet they both mean the same time; for Diodorus, who wrote for the Romans, calls the Julian year 4283, which answers to the year before Christ 431, by the name of the Archon, who was elected in that year. Now as the Archonship of Pythodorus did not expire till the summer solstice, and the war began two months before, Thucydides gives the name of the Archon who presided at that time; and Diodorus, according to his own system, names the year by Euthydemus, though he was not actually in office when the war commenced. Another striking instance is the year when Alexander passed into Asia. *Phanias*, as quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, says it was under the Archonship of Euænetus, or Exænetus. But the expedition began in the spring, and consequently in another Roman year from that when Euænetus was elected: wherefore Diodorus fixes it to that  
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year when Ctesicles was Archon ; and with equal truth : for the name of Ctesicles is given to that whole Roman year, though Euænetus was presiding Archon till the summer solstice. With this explanation, it is hoped the seeming discordance of ancient writers will be removed, and the whole appear clear and distinctly marked.

The Median annals are made to begin in the year before Christ 709, in the reign of Hezekiah : for Herodotus ends the Median empire with Astyages, in the year before Christ 559 ; and by reckoning backwards, it comes *nearly* to the time where the revolt of Deioces is fixed. I say *nearly*, because Herodotus often seems to compute by full years, and may have done so in this instance, for reasons which shall be given in due time. A previous question may be properly asked ; why a place is not given to the annals of Eusebius, preceding the time of Deioces ? The best answer is to lay before the reader the accounts of Diodorus Siculus (who drew his relation from Ctesias), of Eusebius, and Syncellus.

Diodorus and Eusebius draw up their accounts in the following manner :

DIODORUS.		EUSEBIUS.	
Arbaces	28 years	Arbaces	28
Mandaucæ	50		
Sofarmus	30	Sofarmus	30
Artias	50	Medidus	40
Arbianes	22	Cardiceas	13
Arfæus	40	Deioces	54
Artynes	22	Phraortes	24
Artibarnas	40	Cyaxares	32
The Parthian revolt			
Apandas or Astyages.		Astyages	38

The duration of the reign of Astyages is omitted in Diodorus, as he meant to treat of it more at large in another book, so that the space of the whole cannot be ascertained ; but it is obvious that there is no agreement between these two authors, except in the names of Arbaces and Sofarmus.

The next we shall give is that of Syncellus.

Years.	Begins in the
Arbaces 28	27th of Amaziah
Mandaucæ 20	26 Azariah
Sofarmus 30	46 Azariah
His 24th year corresponds with the first of the era of Nabonassar.	

Artycas



Years.		Begins in the
Artycas	30	5th of Ahaz
Deioces	54	5 Hezekiah
Aphraartes	51	47 Manasses
Cyaxares	32	10 Jehoiakim.
Astyages	38	

This list of Median kings agrees with Diodorus and Eusebius in the names of Arbaces and Sofarmus, and the length of their reigns. It admits the Mandaues of the former, but rejects the Medidus of the latter. The collateral column, relating to the Jewish kings, must have been greatly corrupted; for though Syncellus might follow a different chronology of Judea from what is here adopted, yet the dates are evidently inconsistent with each other on any system. The whole space is 283 years. Now if Arbaces began his reign in the 27th of Amaziah, the end of Astyages will fall in the 5th of Cambyfes, anno A. Ch. 525, which must be erroneous. Yet there is a degree of consistency in the three first reigns, which might render it probable that he formed his list on a certain and determined system. For if Arbaces began his reign in the 27th of Amaziah, the next reign must begin with the 26th of Azariah, and that of Sofarmus in the 46th of the same king. But then a difficulty occurs; for the first year of the era of Nabonassar would then coincide with the 14th year of Sofarmus, and not with the 24th of his reign. Again, the accession of Deioces is placed in the 5th of Hezekiah, which I suppose to be a mistake for the 15th, viz. the year 711 before Christ. Now the amount of the reigns of those who succeeded Deioces is 175 years; so that if from 711 we deduct 175, the remainder will be 536 years, which exactly corresponds with the third of Cyrus in the era of Nabonassar. This may afford at least some presumptive evidence that Syncellus thought the Median empire was not destroyed till that time; and this is corroborated by counting the reigns upwards from Deioces to Arbaces inclusive, which amount to 108 years. Now if to 710 before Christ we add 108, the number will be 818, which coincides with the time fixed by Eusebius for the beginning of the reign of Arbaces, and corresponds with the 17th of that of Amaziah, king of Judah. This might lead to a suspicion, that, instead of the 27th of Amaziah, we should read the 17th, had not the subsequent reigns been accommodated to the former date. As for Diodorus, the sum total of

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the reigns in his list amounts to 282 years. Let us suppose that he begins his computation with Eusebius, in the year 819 before Christ: Now 282 years advanced, gives us the year 538, viz. the first of Cyrus in the era; and Apandas or Aftyages might be supposed to reign to the third of Cyrus, in the same era.

The result of the whole is, that, by common consent, there was an Arbaces king of Media, who, as it is said, in conjunction with a king of Babylon, conquered the Ninevites; but it is difficult to believe Nineveh to have been the metropolis of the great empire of Assyria, though it was certainly a large city at that time; as being the capital of a fertile kingdom, and having every advantage of situation on a great river. This will appear more conclusive by examining the Tables; for the date of Eusebius falls in the beginning of the reign of Jeroboam the Second, who was king of Israel. Now this very king conquered Damascus and Hamath, and held them till his death; and therefore the Assyrian kings had not possession of Syria during his reign of 41 years, viz. till after the year before Christ 780. Jonah the prophet was sent in this reign on a divine mission to the king of *Nineveh*, but he is not called king of Assyria. Many Chronologists however affirm that this was the Sardanapalus, master of a vast empire, who was dethroned by the joint forces of Arbaces of Media, and Belshazzar of Babylon. Could we admit the computation of years, it would be a more probable supposition that the overthrow of Sardanapalus was prior to Jonah's mission, and that the king, mentioned by that prophet, was the viceroy or satrap of Nineveh under the kings of Media. But then it must be owned, that, if the old Assyrian empire was destroyed at this time, another Assyrian empire rose in about 50 years more to great power under Pul, whose name is first mentioned under the reign of Menahem king of Israel, from whom Pul extorted enormous contributions. Such are the difficulties to be encountered, if the calculations of Eusebius are to be adopted; but some few observations may tend to cast a light on this obscure period.

As to the diversity of names, it is impossible now to know why Eusebius rejected the Mandaucæ of Diodorus. Might he not suspect that he was the same with Arbaces, and changed his name on conquering Nineveh? If this can be supposed, these three authors agree in giving eight kings of Media. The duration of their reigns is another point to be considered, and of more importance. Diodorus gives 282 years to eight reigns,  
Syncellus



Syncellus 283, and Eusebius 259 to the same number. Now the average of Diodorus and Syncellus amounts to more than 35 years to each reign, and that of Eusebius to above 32 years. This can hardly be supposed, considering the number of kings in succession, from the analogy of other historians. The eight last kings of France reigned, at an average, less than 29 years each; and yet few histories can parallel the reigns of Louis XIV. and his great-grandson Louis XV. which reach from 1643 to 1776; an average of 66 years 6 months to each. If these authors then have placed the taking of Nineveh too high, we may be allowed to reason from analogy, and consider the general course of human nature. This is attempted in the tables; and Arbaces is fixed about ten years before the beginning of Menahem, allowing 27 years to a reign for the eight kings in succession. This computation, it must be allowed, is rather large; but then it brings down Arbaces to the time of *Pul*; and it seems very probable they were one and the same person. *Pul* was a king of Assyria, and so was Arbaces; they were both described to be conquerors; and as for the difference of names, may it not be supposed that on the taking of Nineveh, in consequence of which he became king of Assyria, he would assume a name which seems derived from Belus, the principal Deity of that country<sup>a</sup>. Yet, as whatever is grounded on analogy can at best form only a probable conjecture, this fact is marked with an asterisk, to distinguish it from those which are grounded on direct evidence of history. It may be objected, that the names in any one of these lists are not like those of the kings of Assyria mentioned in the sacred Scriptures, who reigned after *Pul*: but then it must be allowed they agree in number of reigns; for *Pul*, Tiglath-Pileser, Salmanasar, and Sennacherib, might have different names in Media, and correspond to the Arbaces, Sofarmus, Medidus, and Cardiceas of Eusebius, or the four first kings in the list of Syncellus. It may well be supposed that Arbaces or *Pul* kept Media, when in possession of Nineveh, though he resided at the latter place; and this accession of dominion would enable him to push his conquests over Mesopotamia, and beyond the Euphrates, even to the kingdom of Israel. This at least we know, that his successor Tiglath sent the captive Syrians into Media; for though it is not immediately

<sup>a</sup> The authors of the Ancient Universal History suppose that *Pul* was the same person with Belus. But I should rather think Baal, the tutelar God of Syria, in ages prior to the reign of *Pul*, was the same with Belus, vol. iv. p. 353. 8vo. ed.



declared in the sacred books, yet it is said that he sent them into Kir, which Josephus translates Media, and his explanation has not been disputed<sup>a</sup>. In this case Tiglath and Pul must either have held Media by right of inheritance, or else one or other of them must have conquered it; and this last supposition is not founded on any tradition. That Salmanassar, his successor, possessed Media, is still more clear, from the express words of the sacred Scriptures; nor did that country revolt till the next reign, viz. that of Sennacherib. Thus a Median family held the thrones of Assyria and Media; and this great dominion might be called an Assyrian empire by the Jews, or a Median by the Greeks, with equal propriety.

Sir Isaac Newton raises the beginning of the reign of Pul to the year before Christ 790; which is no way inconsistent with this computation. Prideaux, on the other hand, supposes the conquest of Nineveh to be coeval with the first of Nabonassar, whom he makes to be the same with Belshazzar, as Tiglath-Pileser is the same with Arbaces. The objection I make to this idea is, that Pul, the king of Assyria, preceding Tiglath, was certainly a conqueror. He reigned beyond the year 766 before Christ; and, if his successor be the same with Arbaces the Mede, he, according to Prideaux, took Nineveh in 747. Thus there is but the space of 19 years for the glory and total fall of a vast empire. Besides, the authors of the Ancient Universal History very justly observe, that the conquests of Pul mark the beginning of a great kingdom, by first making the states tributary, but not absolutely reducing them to slavery, as Tiglath-Pileser did soon after. In whatever way this last idea may be considered, yet, as no profane historian mentions a great Asiatic conqueror about this time except Arbaces, nor any sacred writer speaks of any excepting Pul, it seems probable that they are one and the same person. There are many who entirely reject the history of the conquest of Nineveh; but it seems too well attested to be overthrown by conjecture, though it was placed too high by the old Chronologists. As it is here stated, the sacred and profane history seem to agree well together; and if Pul or Arbaces was the founder of the Assyrian empire, we can easily account why the prophet Jonah calls the king, to whom he was sent, only king of *Nineveh*, and not of *Assyria*; for Jonah cer-

<sup>a</sup> See Bochart, l. iv, cap. 33. p. 293. and Poli Synopsis,



tainly preceded the reign of Pul. As for the era of Nabonassar, why it began at the year 747, is uncertain ; but if we credit Diodorus for the characters of Arbaces and of the weak Belesis, it may well be supposed that the former might, on the death or removal of the latter, add Babylon to his other conquests. Sir Isaac Newton<sup>a</sup> suggests most ingeniously, that Pul divided his dominions between his sons : Assyria and Media were assigned to his eldest, Tiglath-Pileser ; and Babylon to Nabonassar, his younger. This accounts for the commencement of a new era ; because that kingdom, which had hitherto been governed by a viceroy, as a province of Assyria, had now an independent sovereign. We may too explain from hence a text of Isaiah, which seems to have embarrassed most commentators. “ *This people was not till the Assyrian founded it* <sup>b</sup>.” The words *this people* are by some interpreted to mean the Tyrians, but are much more applicable to the Chaldeans or Babylonians. Now Isaiah, by his proem *Behold*, refers to the kingdom of Babylon existing in his time ; and it seems to imply that the kings of that district were of Assyrian extraction ; but at what other time the Assyrians could found it, except when Nabonassar was made king, we have no historic proof to shew, either sacred or profane. To strengthen this opinion, the title of the first division of the era of Nabonassar calls that series of Babylonian kings *Assyrians and Medes* ; which evidently implies that Nabonassar himself was an Assyrian, and equally so that he was of a Median family. The author of the Critical Enquiries thinks that Assaradinus was the first Mede that reigned over Babylon ; but why then was not *Μήδων* written before his name, as *Περσῶν* is before Cyrus, the first Persian king of Babylon, and *Μακεδόνων* before the name of Alexander the Great, when the Macedonians were settled in the kingdom. Till this difficulty be solved, it is more natural to suppose the first king mentioned in the table was of Median descent. The foregoing reflections may suggest hints to abler chronologists ; but it seems at least probable that Assyria was conquered by the Medes about this time, and that as Nineveh formed a more convenient residence for the court, both from its grandeur, its opulence, and its central position, so the Median kings abandoned their own country, which was from this time governed by a deputy, and considered as a province of the empire. The state of Media

<sup>a</sup> Chronicle, p. 35.

<sup>b</sup> Isaiah, ch. xxiii. ver. 13.

continued



continued the same for the three first reigns: but when Sennacherib marched against Judah and Egypt, the most distant part of his empire from Media, and met with so severe a check in the loss of his army, then, we are informed in the book of Tobit<sup>a</sup>, the troubles in Media stopped all intercourse with Assyria; and at this precise time Herodotus fixes the revolt of Deioces. This congruity between Herodotus and the author of Tobit is confirmed by the sacred Scriptures; and they are found to illustrate each other. If we follow Herodotus from the first of the reign of Cyrus in 558, before Christ, and upwards to the revolt of Deioces, viz. 150 years, we are led to the year 708; but as that author may have omitted some odd months in one or other reign, I would rather place it in the preceding year, as it explains the book of Judith more satisfactorily, to my apprehension. It must be confessed there are many chronological difficulties in this history; but the main fact may be adjusted to a certain time, though not with sufficient clearness to solve every doubt. The history relates that Nabuchodonosor, king of Assyria, in the 12th year of his reign made war upon Arphaxad, king of Media, who had founded, or at least fortified, the city of Ecbatana. The Assyrian king called upon all the nations, from the borders of Media quite to the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, to join his forces. All beyond the Euphrates westward refused obedience; but in the 13th year marching on, he attacked and slew Arphaxad; and the following year sent Holofernes to the west, where the Jews, who at this time seem to have been governed by a High Priest, defeated the army of Assyria. These kings of Assyria and Media have been variously interpreted; but, as it is said Arphaxad built or adorned Ecbatana, it must be Deioces or Phraortes; and we have the power of adjusting their reigns to those of the kings of Assyria, as, from the time of Esarhaddon, the last mentioned kings were in possession of Babylon, and are consequently found in the era of Nabonassar. The last of Deioces agrees, if we follow Herodotus very strictly, with the 12th of Sardanapalus; and the next year Deioces might be slain at Ragau, when he had but passed his 53d year. So far the history of Judith seems to conform to Deioces, with the additional argument of his being the founder of Ecbatana. But then, in the subsequent account of the invasion of Judah by Holofernes, why have we no mention of Ma-

<sup>a</sup> Tobit, ch. i. ver. 15.



nasseh the king, and why were the public affairs in the hands of the High Priest ?

It is well known that Manasseh was taken captive by the Assyrians ; that he was released, and afterwards restored to the throne on his repentance ; but seems for the remainder of his life to have been tributary to his conquerors. Thus the reign of Manasseh is divided into three parts. Now this invasion was probably not before his captivity, for his impieties called down the divine vengeance ; but we do not read of a deliverance. Nor is it probable it was *during* his captivity ; for it is not easy to suppose the Jews would refuse submission when their king was a prisoner to the Assyrians ; or supposing they had refused, and destroyed the armies of Holofernes, it is less easy to imagine that the Assyrians would have released the king after such an event. This opinion indeed is more tenable than the other, as the king's absence would account for Joachim the priest having the principal direction of public affairs : but this single argument, on the one side of the question, does not invalidate the others against it. Neither could it be after his captivity, for he seems to have continued in prosperity, and in a pacific alliance with the king of Assyria during his life. Let us now place this invasion under the next king of Babylon, just after the death of Phraortes, in the 14th of Chinil-adou ; and then it agrees with the 5th of Josiah, who was at that time a minor ; and the public business might be transacted by the High Priest, being the first man in the state, and best qualified, by his profession, to forward a reformation in religion. The Arphaxad of Judith then is probably that Phraortes, who, according to Herodotus, was slain in a battle against the Assyrians ; who, though he did not found Ecbatana, might adorn it with towers ; and the words of the book of Judith do not imply more.

For the subsequent reigns of the kings of Media, there are various opinions. Herodotus calls the two next Cyaxares and Astyages ; and gives 40 years to the former, and 35 to the latter. Eusebius and Syncellus agree in the names, but differ, as we have seen, in the duration of their government.

Before I begin with an account of Cyaxares, it may be necessary to premise, that Diodorus Siculus is guilty of an error in giving the name of Cyaxares to the first king of Media who revolted from Assyria, and quoting Herodotus as his authority<sup>a</sup>. This may partly confound many

<sup>a</sup> Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 84.



readers who would, from the general character of Diodorus, take up with his assertion, without consulting the original author.

The events of this reign must be collected from Herodotus. 1st. The improvement of the military discipline might begin with his accession to the throne, and continue in a progressive state of amendment. The 2d is the war against Nineveh, to revenge his father's death, which was rendered ineffectual by the Scythian invasion of Media; which is the 3d great event. The 4th is the 2d war against Nineveh, when that capital of Assyria was destroyed. The 5th is the war of this same Cyaxares with Alyattes king of Lydia, the father of Croesus, terminated in the 6th year by a solar eclipse. These are the facts mentioned by Herodotus, and, as I apprehend, they are here placed in their true order. Some are of opinion that the Lydian war was the first in point of time. This is grounded on some expressions of Herodotus, which shall be impartially considered. The strongest objection is, that, as Eusebius fixes the taking of Sardes (which was the final close of the Lydian kingdom) to the year A. C. 548, then the first year of Alyattes falls in with the 19th of Cyaxares; and we must place the taking of Sardes about the year A. C. 566, to bring them together. This however will not quite solve the difficulty. We must add five years more at least; for Alyattes was at war with the Milesians for so long a time after his accession to the throne, that he seems to have been personally engaged, and to have employed in it a large part of his forces. Many have conceived that Herodotus does not imply a continuation, but a renewal of the war. The first expression he uses may be rather equivocal, *παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς*, taking up the war from his father; but the following words are positive and direct. The war continued, says he, eleven years, of which Sadyattes reigned six: *τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἑπιόμυνα τοῖσιν ἑξ*, but the five years immediately following these six, Alyattes, the son of Sadyattes, carried on the war. Nor do the other expressions of Herodotus imply that he arranged the acts of Alyattes in order of time. He wished to inform his hearers how the kingdoms of Lydia and Media grew up and flourished, which, in their days, were but a part of the empire of Persia. For this reason he tells them Alyattes made war with Cyaxares and the Medes: then afterwards, in describing that very Cyaxares, he says, *οὗτος ὁ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσιν ἐστὶ μαχεσάμενος*, and adds the circumstance of the day becoming night during the battle. The time is not mentioned in either passage,



passage; and all that Herodotus meant was only to identify the kings who engaged in that war, which, by remote and unforeseen consequences, extended the dominion of Cyrus over the whole of Asia Minor<sup>a</sup>. If this difficulty be removed, let us suppose the first foreign war of Cyaxares to be that against Nineveh, to which he might be instigated by policy, as well as from the hope of revenging his father's death; for this accords exactly with the time, when the king of Assyria sent his numerous armies to reduce the revolted provinces in the west, and must thereby have weakened his border to the east; and to this may be added the defeat of Holofernes. He is said to have gained the victory, and besieged Nineveh; from which he was recalled by the alarming intelligence of a vast irruption of Scythians, who, passing to the east of the Caspian sea, fell upon Media. His forces were defeated, his country ravaged, and he himself deprived of a large part of his dominion. This emigration began probably about the year A. Ch. 635; but, as they made a large circuit in their march, they might not attack Media till 633: not that they met with hostilities to check them; for the scattered tribes of Hyrcania and Sacia were more probably better inclined to join their troops, than oppose their progress. The continuance of this invasion was to the 28th year; but they did not oppress Media all this time; for Herodotus informs us, that the Median kingdom lasted 128 years, exclusive of the time when the Scythians possessed the country. Now the collective number of these four reigns is 150 years; so that we must deduct 6 years, and give 22 for the oppression of Media. Soon after their settlement in the northern parts of Asia, a large division of these plundering tribes marched off to make further depredations. It seems probable they marched by the way of Assyria and Mesopotamia, to the rich country of Tyre and Sidon, and passing through a part of Palestine, arrived at the borders of Egypt<sup>b</sup>. Psammitichus was then king, who had now taken Ashdod or Azotus, and reduced it to a heap of ruins. Had it been supported with a strong garrison, it might

<sup>a</sup> This battle and the eclipse are mentioned a third time by Herodotus, to account for the connection between Astyages and Cræsus, but without any point of time. L. i. c. 74.

<sup>b</sup> We cannot doubt but that the kingdom of Judah must have suffered from this invasion; but it might not be so great an evil, as to be mentioned in the historical text. I submit, how-

ever, a conjecture to the learned; whether Jeremiah, in his first prophecy, does not allude to it (ch. i. ver. 14, 15.); and whether the prophet Joel has not a reference to the same event, typified by an army of locusts. The evil might threaten when Jeremiah wrote, and have passed over when Joel prophesied. (Joel, ch. ii. pass.)



have checked the progress of the barbarians ; but they proceeded southwards without molestation to Ascalon, where the king of Egypt, by force of large presents, induced them to return. After the rear of the army had plundered the temple of Ascalon, they made a retreat. They do not seem to have formed any settlement near Palestine ; though some have supposed that the city of Bethshean was, in after times, called Scythopolis, from a colony of these wandering Scythians<sup>a</sup>. We hear no more of these southern emigrants ; but Herodotus says in general, that the Scythian forces mouldered away, being enervated by luxury and idleness, and weakened by the large detachment to the south, which, as he intimates, was afflicted with disease ; so that probably but few returned to Media. The remaining Scythians too were now grown odious to the country, for their tyrannical exactions ; so that an active and brave monarch might easily recover his territories and authority, and join with the king of Babylon to attack Nineveh. All we know is, that those Scythians, whom the climate had spared, were barbarously murdered at a feast, under pretext of peace<sup>b</sup>. The destruction of Nineveh followed soon after. Josephus, according to Dr. Prideaux, places it a year or two before ; but the words of that author do not directly affirm that Nineveh was then destroyed<sup>c</sup>. In the 2d book of Kings<sup>d</sup> we find that Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, went up against the *king of Assyria* to the river Euphrates. His object was to make Carchemish his boundary, to form a barrier against the growing power of Babylon. This must have fallen out in the last year of Josiah, year before Christ 607. About three years after (viz. in the year 604 before Christ), Jeremiah says, historically, that Nebuchadnezzar had recovered all that Necho had conquered. This nearly limits the destruction of Nineveh to the year 606. Cyaxares seems to have divided the kingdom with the Babylonians, and to have taken for his share the territories to the east of the Tigris. Having thus recovered his former dominion from the Caspian to the Euxine sea, and enlarged it to the borders of Mesopotamia, he became again formidable to the kingdom of Lydia. A pretext for war is soon found between two neighbouring powers. Cyaxares had affronted a body of Scythians, who in revenge committed a

<sup>a</sup> Relandus, in Palest. tom. ii. v. Scythopolis, ably contradicts this opinion.

<sup>b</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 106.

<sup>c</sup> Joseph. Ant. l. x. c. 5. § 1.

<sup>d</sup> Ch. xxiii. ver. 29. 2 Chron. ch. xxxv. ver. 20.



most atrocious act of cruelty, and, conscious of their guilt, fled to Alyattes for protection. Being re-demanded, the Lydian king refused to deliver them up<sup>a</sup>, and a war ensued, which lasted five full years with various success. In the 6th year a great battle was fought; but an eclipse of the sun, foretold by Thales, alarming the combatants, a peace was made, and confirmed by the marriage of Astyages, son of Cyaxares, with Ariene, daughter of Alyattes. Such is the simple narrative of Herodotus; but the time is not settled. As it depends on the calculation of a solar eclipse, it is an object of astronomical enquiry, and might be fixed to a certain year. These tables place it in the year 601 A. Ch.<sup>b</sup> the 6th from the taking of Nineveh. I cannot place it higher without deviating from the chronology of Eusebius, and the relation of Herodotus; but it may be placed a year or two lower. Pliny fixes another time in a passage, which, though quoted often, must be repeated here. ‘Apud Græcos investigavit primus omnium Thales Milesius, Olympiadis quadragesimæ octavæ anno quarto, prædicto solis defectu, qui Alyatte rege factus est, urb. condit. anno 170.’ This eclipse mentioned by Pliny being, as he says, the first that was predicted by Thales, must be the same with that meant by Herodotus. It does not however fall within the reign of Cyaxares, but in the 10th of his successor Astyages. To reconcile these two authors, it might have been supposed, that the 48th olympiad had been written for the 44th by mistake; but the annus urb. condit. 170 falling in the 48th olympiad, confirms the integrity of the text. Pliny then supposed this eclipse to have been in the reign of Astyages; and some of his copies read, sub *Astyage* rege, instead of *Alyatte*<sup>c</sup>. He followed Herodotus in the order of reigns, but imagined the latter had mistaken the time of the eclipse. Funccius in his Chronology follows Pliny’s date, and fixes it under Astyages. Sir I. Newton takes up the same calculation, and yet places it under Cyaxares. To reconcile this seeming contradiction,

<sup>a</sup> The refusal of Alyattes seems unaccountable, unless we suppose these fugitives were the few remains of that great Scythian emigration which had been saved by Cyaxares. Alyattes had most probably cultivated the alliance of the Scythians, while they formed a barrier against Media by possessing Armenia, Colchis, and Iberia. This will account for their anger against Cyaxares, and the partiality of the Lydian monarch.

<sup>b</sup> Conjecture should not be indulged; but it seems at least probable that Darius Medus was the issue of this marriage. He was 62 at the taking of Babylon in 538 A. Ch. and consequently born in 599, corresponding with the year after the nuptials of Astyages and Ariene.

<sup>c</sup> This reading is much reprobated, but most probably is the true one.



he affirms that Herodotus has transposed the two kings, and that Cyaxares was the *son* of Aftyages, and grandson of Phraortes. Yet it seems strange that Herodotus should have made such minute enquiries into the facts of the reign of Cyaxares, and yet be ignorant of his father's name. What is more strong, Eusebius, Syncellus, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c. agree in the order of succession; though, as they differ from Herodotus in the length of their reigns, they could not have copied from him.

The reign of Aftyages should be next considered; but the little we know of his life, and that of Darius the Mede, is so intimately connected with the acts of Cyrus (which shall be discussed in their proper place) that the annals of Media must be dismissed for the present time.

For the Egyptian antiquities, no full confidence can be placed in them before the reign of Psammitichus, and from thence to the 5th of Cambyses, king of Persia; a period of 145 years. These annals indeed may be shewn to be so consonant to the sacred Scriptures, and the era of Nabonassar, as may, it is hoped, suppress almost every doubt of their accuracy. At present, however, it may be necessary to dwell a little on the ages before that era commences, if only to point out the impossibility of giving a distinct series of reigns on any well established tradition. At first sight we should imagine the task was not difficult; for Egypt was the country where arts and learning flourished in the earliest ages, as the books of Moses and the Greek historians incontestably prove. The inhabitants were acute, ingenious, and industrious. The nature of the country too required a constant attention, and prevented that languor of mind which dulls the faculties; but the produce was uncommonly luxuriant, and supplied materials for a great variety of manufactures. Add to this; from the days of the patriarch Joseph they seem to have resided in cities, which is a strong presumption of early civilization, and to have built more than any other nation. The labours of the Israelites, during their captivity in Egypt, refer to the carrying on some great designs in building, which were probably for private houses, as their employment was making brick; and the temples and other public edifices were of stone, as we may judge from their remains. Thus, happily settled in a country defensible by situation, under an easy government, with more abundance than their own wants could require, supplied by nature, and improved by art, they were the general resort of all the surrounding nations, who enriched them by the purchase of their native products or manufactures. Under these  
circumstances



circumstances one might expect an exact historical account of their kings, or that the inquisitive spirit of the Greeks would have given us at least authentic lists of the succession of reigns in that country. This was the more to be hoped for, from the number of writers yet extant on that subject, from Herodotus as low as Syncellus. The first of these visited Egypt in person, as did likewise Diodorus Siculus and Strabo: but there were many obstacles to the certainty of information, arising partly from the genius and temper of the people, and still more from the various calamities they had endured; the latter being the consequence of the former. The character of the Egyptians may be drawn equally from the sacred writings, as from the Greek and Roman authors; all which unanimously agree that they were morose, unsteady, and inhospitable to strangers. The pride of superior wisdom counteracted the advantages that might have been derived from that very superiority. Their religion too operated to create disunion amongst themselves; for the different objects of worship divided them into sects, which persecuted each other with the most unrelenting hatred, even when they were subject to Rome<sup>a</sup>. Homer, who bestows a fine panegyric on the fertility of the Egyptian soil, calls the country itself *πικρὴν*<sup>b</sup>; an epithet which seems to be derived from the general aversion the inhabitants bore to foreigners. With these dispositions, they never had a lasting attachment to their own governors, though they were little connected with other states. This internal weakness, joined to great wealth, roused the avarice and ambition of their powerful neighbours, while, trusting to the natural strength of their country, the Egyptians neglected their military establishments. From these causes we see the kingdom of Egypt sometimes divided into separate principalities, and at others invaded and ravaged by successive inroads of Ethiopians from the south, and of Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, from the north. I shall neither controvert nor affirm the victories of the Egyptian Sesostris. The facts are doubtful; and, if true, belonged most probably to ages in which these tables are not concerned: but, whenever they happened, the reign of Sesostris is almost a single instance, and does not invalidate the evidence of ancient writers, that the Egyptians were bad soldiers, as well from their unsteady temper as their want of courage<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Juvenalis Sat. XV.

<sup>b</sup> Odyss. lib. xvii. l. 448.

<sup>c</sup> Shishak attacked Judea, but not till it was weakened by the revolt of ten tribes. Pharaoh

Necho penetrated as far as the Euphrates, when the empire of Assyria was near its end; but lost his acquired territory as soon as the Babylonians had conquered Nineveh.

These



These several invasions were very destructive to the public records, and more particularly that of Cambyfes, who reduced Egypt to be a province of Persia. In the days of Herodotus their hieroglyphical writings were scarcely understood by the priests; at least they were unwilling to explain them, if they had the power. From his time to those of the Ptolemies we have no insight into the history of Egypt; for during this long period of more than 120 years (in which they were either in a state of internal confusion, or tyrannised over by the Persians), it is not to be supposed this branch of knowledge could be encouraged. Manetho, an Egyptian priest, and Eratosthenes, the second librarian of Alexandria, endeavoured to restore the ancient history of the country, by the order of the Macedonian princes, after the death of Alexander the Great. How far they succeeded cannot be known, as we have very small remains of either. One fragment of Manetho is preserved by Josephus; and a series of the kings of Thebes is saved from the wreck of Eratosthenes's writings.

Diodorus Siculus is the next author, and deserves some praise for not pretending, any more than Herodotus, to make great discoveries. How Julius Africanus, who flourished during the year 220 P. Ch. Eusebius, who lived under Constantine the Great, or Syncellus, who lived in A. D. 720, under Leo Iconomachus, could find better lights than Herodotus, is not known. That they did procure some assistance, is plain from a certain agreement (though far from an uniform agreement) in the names of the kings in succession; but their discordance in every other point renders it of little utility. The several races of kings suggested the idea of divisions called Dynasties, of which they have formed thirty, from their first ages down to their final subjection to Persia under Ochus; to which might be added afterwards a 31st dynasty, mentioned by Eusebius, extending to the last Darius. These are supposed to be borrowed from an old chronicle of the Egyptian kings, preserved by Syncellus; but if so, there were either different copies, or else they have been greatly corrupted themselves: but, what is still more extraordinary, the original chronicle begins with the 15th dynasty, so that the 14 prior dynasties, in Eusebius and Africanus, must have been derived from some other memoirs. The truth seems to be, that this 15th dynasty was really the first in point of time, consisting of the shepherd kings; for when the people were a little recovered from the Persian invasion, and had again  
sovereigns



sovereigns of their own, they most probably applied themselves to collect the scattered fragments of their history, relating as well to their kings as to their religion. The learned and ingenious Mr. Bryant thinks these Egyptian priests counted upwards, reckoning their own times the first dynasty, and the earliest they could discover the 15th; but that the Greek writers, not understanding the mode of computation, compiled 14 prior dynasties, making them in all 31. This opinion is the most probable that has been yet suggested, and supported by many arguments in his elaborate and useful work on Mythology. The forementioned supposititious dynasties seem, as he judiciously supposes, to be framed out of other detached memoirs, either relating to contemporary princes, or the annals of their priests. These ages however are far beyond the limits of the present enquiries; for as I begin with the reign of Solomon, so these tables correspond with the 21st dynasty in Eusebius. For the ease of the reader, they are here inserted, as well as the calculations of Syncellus and Julius Africanus<sup>a</sup>.

SYNCELLUS.		JULIUS AFRICANUS.		EUSEBIUS.		
	Ann.		Ann.		Ann.	
Dyn. 21.	Sufakim	34	Smedes	26	Smendes	26
	Pfuenus	25	Phuneses vel Phufenes	46	Pfufennes	41
	Ammenophes	9	Nephelcheres	4	Nepherchenes	4
	Nephecheres	6	Amenopthis	9	Ammenophthis	9
	Saites	15	Ofochor	6	Ofochor	6
	Pfinaches	9	Pinaches	9	Pfinaches	9
			Pfufennes	30	Pfufennes	35
	—		—		—	
	98		130		130	
Dyn. 22.	Petubastes	44	Sefonchis	21	Sefonchosis	21
	Oforthon	9	Oforoth	15	Oforthon	15
			Tres anonymi	25	Tacellothis	13
			Tacellothis	13		
			Tres anonymi	42		
		—		—		—
	53		116		49	

<sup>a</sup> The most probable calculation of the Egyptian monarchy, is that of the learned Varro, who says they had not had letters much more than 2000 years before his time. This account leads us to the age when Misraim

settled a colony in Egypt, and consequently, as Augustin says, *à literarum etiam divinarum veritate non diffonat.*

August. de Civ. Dei, l. xviii. c. 40.

	SYNCELLUS.		JULIUS AFRICANUS.		EUSEBIUS.	
		Ann		Ann. M		Ann
Dyn. 23.	Concharis	21	Petubastes	40 o	Petubastes	21
	Oforthon	15	Oforthon	8 o	Oforthon	9
	Tacelophes	13	Pfammus	10 o	Pfammus	10
			Zet	31 o		
		—		—		—
		49		89 o		40
Dyn. 24.	Bocchoris	44	Bocchoris	6 o	Bocchoris	44
Dyn. 25.	Sabaco	12	Sabbaco	8 o	Sabbaco	12
	Sebechon	14	Sevechus	14 o	Sevechus	12
	Taraces	20	Tarcus	18 o	Taracus	20
		—		—		—
		46		40 o		44
Dyn. 26.	Amaes	38			Ammeres	12
	Stephinathes	27	Stephinates	7 o	Stephanathis	7
	Nacepses	13	Nerepsos	6 o	Nechepfos	6
	Nechaab	8	Nechao	8 o	Nechao	8
	Pfammitichus	14	Pfammitichus	54 o	Pfammitichus	45
	Nechaab	9	Nechao II.	6 o	Nechao II.	6
	Pfamutis	17	Pfammutis	6 o	Pfammutis	17
	Vaphres	34	Vaphris	19 o	Vaphres	25
	Amasis	50	Amosis	44 o	Amosis	42
			Pfammerites	o 6		
		—		—		—
		Anni 210		Anni 150 6		Anni 168

As this era coincides pretty nearly with the war of Troy, at least where I have ventured to place it, so we must look for that period in the history of Herodotus, and begin with Proteus, whom Paris, the son of Priam, is supposed to have visited in his flight from Sparta with Helen. This Proteus, on whom Homer has founded a most beautiful fable in his 4th *Odyssey*, is not to be seen in the list of Manetho, though he is in Diodorus Siculus. From this name, which is Greek both in sound and sense, he was probably only the chief man of that part of Egypt, and not sovereign of the whole country; and this will account for the omission of him in the other writers. The first name in Eusebius is Smendes, which is placed as beginning in the 34th of Solomon in the *Chronicle*; but, according to the present computation, it falls in with the year before Christ 979, being the 8th of that reign; and the whole space, from that period to the 5th of Cambyfes, is 479 years. The corresponding name in Julius Africanus is Smedes; but as the whole of his years, from the 21st dynasty to



to the time before mentioned, amounts to 535 years, we must place this king 49 years before the beginning of Solomon, that is before Christ 1060. The same period in Syncellus contains 498 years, which brings you to the year before Christ 1023; twelve years before Eusebius. Thus Eusebius and Syncellus differ but little from each other; and as for Africanus, I suspect him of arranging six anonymous kings as succeeding each other in the direct line in his 22d dynasty, who might be contemporary with those, whose names he has given, and might rule over other parts of the country. The space of these reigns amounts to 67 years. Strike them off, and it produces the year before Christ 993, viz. the 19th of Solomon. We shall have occasion to mention this argument once more, so shall drop it for the present; and as in these dark ages we might indulge conjecture without end, it will be more easy to compare these writers with the few lights we have from the sacred books in relation to Egypt, before the reign of Psammitichus.

About the year before Christ 1040, the country of Edom was conquered by David; but Hadad, the infant heir to the crown, was saved, and carried off to the Pharaoh, or king of Egypt, who received and protected him. Solomon, after his accession, married the daughter of Pharaoh; who seems to be the same person who had protected the young Edomite, had given him the sister of his queen Tahpenes to wife, and afterwards dismissed him at his earnest request. The time of these events is not exactly known. Hadad would not have been permitted to act against Solomon, till the latter had revolted from his allegiance to God; but he might have retired from the court of Egypt some years before. It is probable this Pharaoh, or king of Egypt (for it is clearly a general title, and not a distinctive name), was the last of the 20th dynasty in Eusebius; and that the 21st might begin with Smendes, who, according to Africanus, began his reign about the 19th of Solomon; and according to Eusebius, in the 8th year of the same king. This Smendes reigned 26 years; and consequently his successor Psusennes mounted the throne, according to Eusebius, in the 34th of Solomon, and seems to be the Sufakim of Syncellus, and the Shishak of the holy Scriptures. I rather incline to this opinion, as the 21st dynasty in Syncellus amounts only to 98, whereas the same space in Africanus and Eusebius gives 130 years; so that it may seem probable that Syncellus has omitted the Smendes of these writers; and then the Sufakim and Psusennes are the same person, and correspond with the time of Shishak. To this Shishak it was  

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that Jeroboam fled in the latter part of Solomon's reign ; from him he borrowed his idolatry of the golden calves ; and he it was that afterwards so cruelly ravaged Judah in the 5th of Rehoboam. As the sacred Scriptures give us no intimation of any subsequent conquest of Shishak, this invasion might be only temporary, and intended to disable Rehoboam from attacking his new ally the king of Israel : for had he proceeded further to invade the neighbouring nations, he must have passed through part of the ten tribes ; and then the sacred Scriptures would hardly have omitted the mention of his route. From this time, the affairs of the Jews and Israelites are distinct from those of the Egyptians, till the year before Christ 722, when Hoshea made an alliance with So, king of Egypt ; a space of 245 years. In this interval the writers aforementioned are greatly confused ; but as, according to Eusebius and Africanus, the 21st dynasty consists of 130 years, so, if we deduct the reign of Smerdes, and eleven years from that of Psusennes, viz. from the 34th of Solomon to the 5th of Rehoboam, the remainder is 93 years ; which make a part of the 245, before mentioned, between Shishak and So. For the intervening dynasties, the 22d is placed wrong in Syncellus, as may be made plain from the names as well as the number of years ; for though Africanus gives 116 years, yet if we subtract the six anonymous reigns, which seem to have been contemporary, the amount will be 49 years for each column. The following dynasties in Eusebius give 40 and 44 years down to Sabbaco, who reigned, it is said, 12 years. Add these to the 93 of the 21st dynasty, and the total is 238 years, answering to the year A. Ch. 730.

The second name then in the list being Sevechus, seems to be the same with So, king of Egypt, who made an alliance in his 9th year with Hoshea, king of Israel. The duration of his reign will not suit with the days of Sennacherib ; and consequently, if we adopt strictly the calculation of Eusebius, the Sethon of Herodotus was a different person from So or Sevechus. On the other hand, the numbers in Syncellus amount to 250 years. These place the beginning of Sevechus after the death of Hoshea, king of Israel ; which contradicts the idea of an alliance between them. If we take a medium, and place it about the year 722, then Sevechus may be the So of the sacred Scriptures, and the Sethos of Herodotus ; and it is vain to expect a nearer congruity. The calculations of Africanus have been supposed to be erroneous in the 22d dynasty ; and the



the reign of Bocchoris being no more than 6 years in the 24th dynasty, when others give him 44 years, may create a suspicion that the transcribers of Africanus should have written 46 years. Then the whole number will be 285; which, from the 5th of Rehoboam, leads us to the year 682 before Christ. Conjectures are endless; but permit me to suppose that the reign of Zet, in the 23d. dynasty, may be an interpolation. As it consists of 31 years, if deducted from the aforementioned number 285, it will give us the year before Christ 713; which differs very little from Syncellus or Eusebius.

Though neither the Jews nor the Israelites had any direct interference with Egypt for the space before mentioned, yet from one passage in the book of Kings we have a partial glimmering of light which should not be omitted, considering the obscurity of the subject in general. It is there said, that, when the Syrians raised the siege of Samaria, deceived by a false alarm, they imagined the king of Israel had hired against them the kings of the Hittites and the *kings* of the Egyptians<sup>a</sup>. From hence it may be inferred, that Egypt was then divided into several principalities. This event happened in the year before Christ 889; just 90 years after the accession of Sufakim, or Shishak, in the 34th of Solomon. This brings us nearly to the close of the 21st dynasty; and Julius Africanus places his anonymous kings in the 22d. This may serve to strengthen at least our conjecture, that, in the space between Shishak and So, the kingdom of Egypt was divided into several independent states, with distinct sovereigns.

The next fact is the mention of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia in the 14th or 15th of Hezekiah; who, being most probably in alliance with Egypt, where an Ethiopian family ruled, opposed Sennacherib, king of Assyria, who about this time endeavoured to make an irruption into Egypt, as Herodotus informs us. Sethon or Sevechus was still king, and the length of his reign in Africanus very nearly accords with this date, being 14 years, and ending about the year before Christ 712; so that he might easily survive the invasion, though he must have died soon after. The next name in the three lists before cited, is Taracus, or Tarcus, or Taraces. This seems to be the same with the aforementioned Tirhakah the Ethiopian, who is described as a conqueror and powerful monarch by

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings, ch. vii. ver. 6.



Strabo, under the name of Tearchon. As this king possessed not only Egypt, but Ethiopia, and probably part of Arabia, his power must have been great; but what conquests he made, is not so certain. Strabo says, he advanced even as far as Europe; meaning, as may be supposed, that he ravaged the coasts of Africa as far as what we now call the Straights of Gibraltar. To this reign Eusebius and Syncellus give 20 years; Africanus but 18. In either case Tirhakah died about 692 years before Christ; 21 years before the first of Psammitichus, in Herodotus.

As the Ethiopian line failed at his death, those distractions, foretold by the prophet Isaiah, began soon after. During this interval our Chronologists are nearly agreed in the names of the three kings between Tirhakah and Psammitichus; but Africanus and Eusebius make the duration of all three but 21 years; whereas Syncellus gives them 48 years in the whole. Whether he included the 15 years of the dodecarchy or government of twelve princes, mentioned as a certain fact by Herodotus and Diodorus, cannot be known; but if not, the amplification of years might be the mistake of a transcriber, which often happens in the numbers in ancient writers. Let us then suppose that Eusebius and Africanus are right; more especially as they are exactly consonant, as to time, with Herodotus. These three kings then, by the shortness of their reigns, lived in a disturbed period, and might not be able to quell their enemies, or calm their intestine commotions, which, by the prediction of Isaiah, were to prevail in every city and district throughout Egypt. These divisions must inevitably weaken the general state, and encourage the Assyrians to invade and ravage the country; and we know that about this time the populous No-Amon or Thebes was destroyed, from the direct evidence of the prophet Nahum. At the close of this invasion I place the government of the 12 chieftains, of which Psammitichus was one; and this is the beginning of his reign according to Herodotus, who dated his first year from his first assumption of power. From this point of time we shall venture to insert the annals of Egypt in the tables. The preceding ages were involved in obscurity, and it would have been inexcusable to have delivered them as true history; but the light begins to open upon us, though we could still wish for more particular information. For various reasons the date of Herodotus, for the first of Psammitichus, seems to be right. In the first place we know that it falls out just three years after the completion of Isaiah's prophecy that Ephraim should be no more



more a people; that is, that the few inhabitants yet remaining in the land of Israel should be carried away. It falls too in that time when Efarhaddon possessed both Assyria and Babylonia, as expressed in the era of Nabonassar; and besides, not only in the reign of Manasseh, but a little after his 22d year, when the old chronicle says he was made captive. If we lay these facts together, their consistency will be more clearly seen. Isaiah had foretold that Assur should take captive both Ethiopia and Egypt. This king of Assyria seems to be Efarhaddon, whose armies, marching towards the western coast, seize on Manasseh, and send him to Babylon; which proves that Babylon was then a part of the Assyrian dominion. This fell out in the year 674, and the next year was the last of Isaiah's prophecy against Ephraim; and consequently the Israelites were removed at this time, and most probably for the reception of those new colonists, which Efarhaddon by name, as Ezra expressly tells us, sent to re-people Samaria. It is most natural to suppose that these events nearly followed each other, being in the same country: at least we find, amongst the nations sent as colonists by Efarhaddon, the Babylonians are mentioned as one; so that it must have been after he was possessed of Babylon. At this time the distressed state of Egypt made it an easy prey to so powerful an invader; and Isaiah, by fixing three days for the calamities of that kingdom, figures out in prophetic language the duration to be three years: and this date corresponds with Herodotus, as we have before suggested. The destruction of Thebes in Egypt, called by the Greeks Dios-Polis, and by the Hebrews No-Amon, was most probably effected at that time, and not, as Dr. Prideaux supposes, by Sennacherib, in the reign of Hezekiah; for the prophet Nahum relates it as an event not long passed, and he certainly wrote after the reformation of Manasseh, viz. after his return from captivity. Herodotus tells us, that Sennacherib failed in his attempt on Egypt; and the sacred Scriptures confirm it so far, as not allowing of a three years calamity to Egypt from the hand of Assur or Assyria during his short reign. Herodotus says afterwards, that Necus fought a battle at Magdolum with the Syrians; which exactly agrees with the account of Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, fighting with Josiah, king of Judah, at Magdolum or Megiddo; for the Jews being a small nation in the days of that historian, were confounded with the Syrians. The remaining part, during the reign of Apries, coincides exactly with the Pharaoh Hophra of the sacred Scriptures in point of  
time



time, and in the character of the Monarch. Upon the whole it must be owned, that Herodotus is the more deserving of trust, as he does not begin these annals till that very reign commenced, when the ports of Egypt were first opened to the Grecians: and we have consequently the less reason to suspect his information in these points, however liable to imposition he might be in regard to earlier periods of time. Nor could he mean to support the credit of the sacred books, or the era of Nabonassar, as both were most probably unknown to him; but as there is a perfect congruity between them all, though composed by different hands, and at different times and places, so this agreement ought to enforce our belief of the whole. Some have supposed that the first year of Psammitichus, as given by Herodotus, was the first of his reigning alone, and add 15 years more for the joint reign of the 12 kings. This however is very improbable; for the reign of that king must then be prolonged to 69 years, though he must have been fully grown to man's estate before he could have been admitted into the union by the other 11 chieftains. Besides, Herodotus thinks that Psammitichus was much older; for he says he fled to Syria through fear of Sabaco, who had murdered his father Necus. But I should suspect that the Historian was mistaken in this instance, and meant Tirhakah, the last of the Ethiopian line. This however is certain, that he says Egypt got its freedom under the 12 princes; which implies a security from foreign invasions, and precludes the idea of three years of captivity happening during the time of their government. The title of king, given by Herodotus to Psammitichus, proves nothing, as he has conferred the same on all the confederate chieftains. If we suppose the other opinion to be right, the revolution must have been effected about the year 685, viz. 15 years before the 1st of Psammitichus; but then an Assyrian invasion was scarcely possible, for Esarhaddon had lost Media, and did not gain Babylon till about 5 years afterwards; and we know nothing of his attacking Judea, which he must have passed through, till he was in possession of Babylon. The reason given a little before, that Manasseh was carried to that city when a captive, will recur to the reader's memory. Little more can be required on this head; but we must look for the 40 years desolation of Egypt, predicted by Ezekiel<sup>a</sup>, within this

<sup>a</sup> Ezekiel, ch. xxix. ver. 1—15.



space of time. As it was expressly levelled at Apries himself, it must be sought for in his reign, and may begin with the revolt of Cyrene, about the 30th year of Nebuchadnezzar; be completed in the invasion, in the 35th year of that conqueror; and be extended to the 3d of Cyrus, who most probably released those Egyptians who had been captived by the Babylonians. This will fall in with the 34th of Amasis; and the remaining 10 years of his reign might be flourishing and peaceable, and give some foundation for the assertion of the Egyptian priests, that their country flourished under the reign of Amasis. Certain it is, that, if we reflect on the rage of the civil dissensions between Apries and his rival in the first instance, and the dreadful description given us of Nebuchadnezzar's mode of carrying on war, the space of 40 years is but sufficient for the restoration of the country. This however is left to the reader's judgment; but the remainder of the prophecy is a striking picture of the state of Egypt from the days of Cambyfes down to the present time.

The next important era mentioned in the following tables is that of the Roman consuls, beginning in the year before Christ 508. In this date all the historians are agreed; but the year of the foundation of Rome is variously fixed. Dionysius of Halicarnassus places it in April, in the first year of the seventh Olympiad, viz. in the year before Christ 751. This computation is here adopted as being most generally received; though the reader will find other periods extracted from the same author. As these early times, whether truly or falsely stated, have no connection with the Eastern or Grecian history, I have not encumbered the tables with a chronicle of the seven kings reigns; though the beginning and end of each are marked down on the authority of Dionysius. From the consular era these years are distinguished, as being more frequently appealed to by later authors. As for the names of the consuls, there is some disagreement between Livy and Dionysius, as will be noted in the proper place; but they are of small moment, and do not invalidate the authenticity of the catalogue in general. It is of more importance to trace out the gradual advance towards a democracy, by marking the creation of new officers, and the extension of the privileges of the Plebeians, till they partook of all the rights of the Patricians. Those who stretch their enquiries further than the limits of this plan can admit, will not find any considerable improvements in the civil or military establishment. The disaster of the Caudine  
forks



forks<sup>a</sup> just after, did not depress their spirits; and in about 40 years more they foiled the skill and policy of Pyrrhus, the ablest general of Greece. Much reflection too may arise from considering the increase or decrease of the census at different times, as it must be curious to examine into the cause of such variation; whether it proceeded from external accidents, or from the changes in their politics. It is said, that, after the death of Tarquin, the republic degenerated into a close contracted aristocracy; and this may account for the decrease of inhabitants from the year before Christ 492 to 473. This division contains likewise the most material facts relating to Sicily and the Italian republics. About the same time the states of Greece rise into importance, and occupy a particular column. The reigns of the kings of Sparta are here given as far as authentic history will warrant; but the years of their reigns are not ascertained till the accession of Leotychides, in the line of Patrocles, in the year 492 before Christ, and of Plistonax, son of Leonidas (who, though an infant, is called king after the battle of Thermopylæ), in the year 480 before Christ. The years of the truce between Athens and Sparta for 30 years, mentioned by Thucydides, begin in the year 446 before Christ; which truce was interrupted by the Peloponnesian war in the year 431. The years of this memorable war are arranged according to Thucydides and Xenophon, but without supposing, as Archbishop Usher does, that two years are lost between those two historians: and as Xenophon names the Ephori of Sparta during the war, they are arranged on the same parallel with the Archons of Athens, being elected about the same time. All that we know of those kings of Egypt who revolted from Persia, is contained in the further column of the right hand page; and the reigns of the kings of Macedon, from Amyntas to Alexander, are registered on the other side of the era of Nabonassar; a period of no more than 79 years.

Having thus explained the principal columns in these tables; it may be asked, why no longer a period was selected? One answer to this has been given already; that they were intended to fill up that dark interval

<sup>a</sup> The Roman army, being surprised by the Samnites at Caudium, were obliged to pass under the yoke, and surrender as prisoners, in the year before Christ 319, Veturius and Postumius, being consuls. The disaster was great,

but supported and retrieved by courage and discipline. Livy relates and embellishes the story; which, simply told, does more honour to the Roman valour, than to their faith in treaties.

between



between the cessation of the Jewish history, and the certainty of that of Greece. But if we descend to particulars, we find that we are enabled to settle the chronology of Judah and Israel, if not exactly, at least with sufficient accuracy, in difficult and intricate times, where the sacred Scriptures themselves have been variously interpreted, as the fancy of Chronologists has led them to adopt various systems.

But this period includes also the rise and fall of the great monarchies of the East; unless we adopt the reveries of some writers concerning Ninus and Semiramis, which are drawn from suspicious authorities, and have never yet been explained to the satisfaction of the learned in general, however clear they may have appeared to those who adopted them.

In another point of view, these tables serve as a register of the civilization of Greece, and the colonization of the finest cities in Europe and Africa. Carthage, Rome, Marseilles, Syracuse, Rhodes, and Alexandria, with many others, were founded within this space of time. The growing population of Greece and Asia forced the inhabitants to leave their respective states, and form settlements on the fertile coasts of Italy and Sicily. In some places the soil was too scanty in its produce to support the increased number of the inhabitants; in others a restless ambition predominated; in some the inhabitants were expelled by the encroachment of a powerful neighbour; but, from whatever cause it might proceed, the period of Grecian colonization falls between the Trojan war and the reign of Alexander.

The history of trade between Europe and Asia commences at an earlier period than the reign of Solomon; but it is certain that the commerce of the Tyrians arose to its greatest glory after his time. We shall view these ages in a new light, by reflecting that they include the period when the fine arts were not only first introduced into Greece, but carried to that height of perfection which the artists of later times have not been able to attain. It is clear, from the description of the temple of Solomon, that the arts of building, and casting of metals, were well known in Asia before the age I am now about to treat of; and the flourishing state of Egyptian architecture may be placed at the same period. But the stile of Grecian taste was essentially different from Egyptian; and it was only by progressive steps, and not by direct imitation, that the former arrived at the discovery of those three orders of columns,



lums, which have been the standard of imitation to all succeeding generations.

To trace the history of architecture, sculpture, and painting, from their first rise to their utmost perfection, in the age of Dinocrates, Praxiteles, and Apelles, all of whom adorned the reign of Alexander the Great, would be much too long for the limits of this preface; but some leading facts may be mentioned, to guide a further enquiry into the gradual improvements of the more elegant refinements of life. Though we know the time when they flourished most, it is somewhat difficult to discover their origin; for the perfection of art takes place in civilized ages, while the commencement is coeval with those of obscurity and confusion. It will contract our plan in some degree to begin with Homer, that incomparable painter of human life and manners; who delineates the state of the arts in his own times with wonderful exactness. In no part of his works do we find any traces of the orders of columns. The word *στήλη* occurs three times in the Iliad; and in each place it signifies a stone monument denoting a sepulchre. The word *κίον* occurs sometimes; but it seems to have signified a wooden post without ornament, for it is chiefly used to hang their arms upon; so that from hence we cannot deduce any beauty of architecture. The citadel of Ulysses, the palace of Alcinous, and that of Priam and his sons, exhibit no species of elegance in building. As to sculpture, there is no notice taken of carving in stone or marble; and though golden figures are mentioned in the Odyssey and Iliad<sup>a</sup>, these are supposed to be the work of a Deity, and can only prove that the Asiatics were expert in metallurgy; which was never controverted. As for painting, Homer is totally silent: for though his exquisite description of the shield of Achilles might induce one to think that he had been conversant in the art; and though we sensibly feel and admire his sublime genius in composition and expression, yet this shield was certainly composed of different metals, and bears little relation to the laying of pigments on a plain surface. Nor can we draw any more conclusive inference from the embroidery of Helen or Andromache; the latter of whom represented flowers, and the former the wars of Troy. Had Homer been acquainted with so enchanting an art as painting, the

<sup>a</sup> Odyssey, lib. vii. l. 91—103. Iliad, lib. xviii. l. 417—20.



walls of the palaces of Alcinous or Menelaus would not have wanted so magnificent a decoration<sup>a</sup>. If any passage of that divine poet can be produced, which directly implies even a rude practice of representing by painting, I shall with pleasure submit; but such has hitherto escaped my observation. At the same time it must be acknowledged that the Asiatics could not have executed such designs in embroidery or metal, without tracing an outline on some other material; but how this was effected, is not to be discovered at this time.

May it not then be sufficient to suppose (till the contrary is proved) that Homer's silence on the three arts of ornamental architecture, carving, and painting, implies that they were not introduced into the Grecian states when he wrote? Now the age of this poet, as we find in Herodotus, was 400 years before he recited his history; which recital was in the year A. Ch. 445. If we bring the former to the latter, we are led to the year 845. I know that the life of Homer, ascribed to Herodotus, gives a higher date, viz. 622 years before the expedition of Xerxes; which would lead us to the year A. Ch. 1101: but, as the learned are agreed that this work was the compilation of some later author, the discordance of dates may form an additional objection to the authenticity of this last mentioned book, but cannot invalidate a date given by Herodotus, in a work most unquestionably genuine.

If this be allowed, we must search for the origin of the arts after the year before Christ 845<sup>b</sup>; and, to be more clear, shall examine them separately, beginning with the orders of architecture.

Psammitichus, together with eleven others, who had divided the kingdom of Egypt amongst themselves, built the famous labyrinth between the years 670 and 656 before Christ. Psammitichus at this last date de-

<sup>a</sup> The authority of Virgil may be produced against me, as he certainly has described the war of Troy in a painting. He has placed it rather oddly in a temple, built by a princess of Tyre, on the coast of Africa. The description is fine, but the circumstance is certainly an anachronism.

<sup>b</sup> The oldest evidence of painting I can find, is, that Candaules, king of Lydia, purchased a picture of the hand of Bupalus, for its weight in gold. Plin. l. xxxv. c. 8. p. 690. Ed. Harduin. alt. This, however, does not invalidate my argu-

ment, drawn from the silence of Homer. It is clear, from many passages in that divine poet, that the Greeks in Asia were improving themselves in the arts in his days; and the space of time from Homer to the 1st of Candaules must be more than a century. This is sufficient for the introduction of a new art; and I do not affirm that Bupalus brought painting to perfection, any more than Giotto did in Italy; but the pictures of each were esteemed as the best which had then appeared, and would be valued in proportion.



feated his confederates, by inviting the Grecian mercenaries to his aid. From this time there was an open commerce between Egypt and Greece; and the Greeks must have learned from the Egyptians a more perfect masonry, which in process of time suggested the idea of the Doric, and probably of the ancient Ionic orders, to their more subtle and refined understandings<sup>a</sup>. The first specimen of Doric to which we can fix a date, was the temple of Jupiter at Olympia. This was erected, as Pausanias informs us, out of the spoils of the Pisæans; so that we must place its foundation just after that war, viz. in the 48th Olympiad, or about 584 years before Christ, and about 73 years from the settlement of Psammitichus in the sole government of Egypt. Libon of Elis was the architect, and Byzas of Naxos covered the roof with marble, cut like tiles; an invention of his own. Their performance was much admired in after times; so that the Greeks could in this period execute the Doric order in taste and proportion<sup>b</sup>. The temple of Juno at Samos was the next grand specimen of this order, certainly carried on, if not begun, by Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who seems to have reigned between 531 and 522 before Christ<sup>c</sup>. Rhœcus and Theodorus were the architects, both Samians; the latter of whom wrote a book on proportions, which was extant in the time of Vitruvius. It must however be owned, that the chaster taste of the age of Pericles reformed this order of columns, which was perfected in the temple of Minerva at Athens, under the guidance of Ictinus and Callicrates, about the year before Christ 452<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> M. D'Ancarville quotes from M. Fourmont an account of a very ancient temple on the Eurotas; probably older than Homer. This however was built with large stones, but without columns; and does not therefore weaken my assertion concerning the Doric order. The walls of Tiryns, described by Pausanias, built of vast masses of stone, would have been equally valid; for that these were built before the days of Homer, seems plain from his epithet in the 2d Iliad, l. 559, *Τίρυνθ' αἰ γυγίεσσιν*.

The other instance is much stronger against me; that is, the temple of Juno at Olympia, founded by Oxylus. This was a Doric building with a *peristyle*. From this one instance, however, nothing can be inferred. The sanctity and wealth of Olympia might induce the inhabitants to adorn with columns a temple

founded in a former age. This may be suspected at least, as the peristyle was never quite finished; for one of the columns was of oak, which could scarcely have continued from Oxylus to Hadrian, viz. very near 1000 years by a moderate calculation. Pausan. l. v. p. 317. Ed. Xyland.

<sup>b</sup> Pausanias gives the dimensions of this Doric temple, l. v. p. 303, 304. Ed. Xyland.

<sup>c</sup> Some may object, that M. Tournefort (vol. ii. letter the 3d) thinks this temple was the beginning of the Ionic order. His plate however gives a Doric capital; and Vitruvius, in the proem to his 7th book, declares the edifice to be Doric. See also Pocock's Travels, vol. ii. part ii. p. 28.

<sup>d</sup> This is Plutarch's account. Vitruvius calls Callicrates, Carpion.



The Ionic order, according to Vitruvius and Pliny, received its most finished graces in the temple of Diana at Ephesus<sup>a</sup>. This grand edifice was a dipteron, that is, had two rows of columns furrounding it; but the date is not easily ascertained. It was dedicated when Euripides flourished at Athens, and had been in building, says Pliny, 220 years. Now Euripides attended the court of Archelaus, king of Macedon, who was slain in the year before Christ 400. We may then fix the residence of the poet about 420; and the foundation will fall in the year 640 before Christ, corresponding with the 31st of Psammitichus in Egypt, and about 50 years before the temple at Olympia was begun. There are indeed some who read only 120 years in Pliny, which is justified by MSS. By this last reading we are led to the year 540, when the island of Chios afforded excellent sculptors. It is, however, not improbable that the cell of the temple was built in 640, by Chersiphon, or Ctesiphon (for his name is differently written), and one of the peristyles added a century afterwards by Demetrius and Pænius, who are mentioned by Vitruvius as having been employed in the building<sup>b</sup>. Scopas, who flourished in the 87th Olympiad, finished at least one, if not more of the columns, and might adorn it with sculpture; but we cannot suppose he invented the Ionic order, though perhaps he gave some new graces to the capitals of the pillars erected before, and added the second series of columns; which made this temple the most elegant and magnificent in Asia or Greece. The date too, if the reader will examine the tables, falls in with the first year of the Peloponnesian war, when Pericles had just completed the Doric order. This evidence is too conjectural to deserve the name of history; but abler hands may, by the assistance of future travellers, bring it nearer the true time.

The Corinthian order was invented by Callimachus, as most authors agree, about the same time with the Doric, viz. about the age of Libon the architect; 24 years before the tyranny of Pisistratus: if so, the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, begun by Pisistratus, and continued by his sons, was the first noble specimen of the invention. This grand edifice was left unfinished by Hippias, when he was exiled in 510 before Christ, and not resumed till Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, undertook it; whose reign falls too late to be included

<sup>a</sup> Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 14. p. 740. Ed. Harduin.  
alt. and in some other parts of his work.

<sup>b</sup> See the proem of Vitruvius to his 7th book.

within



within the limits of these tables. Yet Dicæarchus, an author who wrote soon after the reign of Alexander, but before Antiochus, owns it struck the beholder with astonishment, even in that imperfect state<sup>a</sup>. It is allowed that the age of Callimachus is not ascertained; but, as Vitruvius hints that the temple of Olympian Jove was of the Corinthian order<sup>b</sup>, the invention cannot be placed after the time of Pisistratus. To sum up the whole, it appears, if we calculate from the time when Psammitichus reigned alone, viz. from the year 625 before Christ, to 510, when Hippias was expelled from Athens (a period of 115 years), that the three orders of columns were invented within that space. They were somewhat improved, I confess, in the age of Pericles; but as the best Athenian temples were erected before the Peloponnesian war, the grand taste in architecture was certainly perfected 96 years before the accession of Alexander the Great. In one instance indeed, and that very important to the health and convenience of mankind, there were great improvements made in after times, viz. in the planning of cities. Athens and Rome were founded in rude ages; and neither the taste of Pericles, nor the wealth of Augustus, could remove the inconvenience of the old disposition<sup>c</sup>. The city of Rhodes, founded in the year before Christ 408, in a civilized and refined period, is celebrated by all authors as the first example of an accurate disposition of the different parts, appropriated to the exercise of religion and civil government, of commerce and defence<sup>d</sup>. About 78 years after, Dinocrates planned the city of Alexandria with equal merit<sup>e</sup>; and this seems to have perfected the science of architecture, in every branch where great genius and a refined taste were required.

As for sculpture, a general idea of its history may be more easily procured than that of architecture. All the ancient writers have agreed in dividing it into two periods; the latter of which begins with the age of Phidias. Strabo ascertains these ages very exactly, though rather foreign

<sup>a</sup> Dicæarchi status Græciæ; κατάπλινξιν δ' ἔχον τὴν τῆς οἰκοδομίας ὑπογραφὴν. p. 8. See too Livy, l. xli. c. 20. unum in terris inchoatum pro magnitudine Dei.

Dr. Prideaux, in his comment on the Parian marble, attempts a plan of this temple, which he delineates as having ten columns in front; though Vitruvius calls it Octastylus. l. iii. c. 1.

<sup>b</sup> "Corinthiis symmetriis et proportionibus." Vitruvii præf. ad lib. vii.

<sup>c</sup> So Dicæarchus, p. 8, concerning Athens, says, κακῶς ἐρρύμοτομημένη διὰ τὴν ἀρχαιοτητα.

<sup>d</sup> The reader is referred to Meursius's treatise on Rhodes; however Strabo will bear evidence to the beauty of that city.

<sup>e</sup> Plin. l. vii. c. 37. p. 396. Ed. Harduin. alt.



to his subject; for, in describing the temples of Ephesus, there are some which he calls ancient, and in these were ἀρχαῖα ξόανα, antique wooden figures<sup>a</sup>. In the other temples built, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον, *in after times*, he transgresses from his usual form, and describes three statues in particular, which were probably of the age of Phidias and Scopas. Pliny and Pausanias abound in examples of this division of the periods: the former, when discoursing of Myron, says, “capillum non emendatius fecisse quam *rudis antiquitas* instituisse<sup>b</sup>.” This *rudis antiquitas* means what is called the age of Dædalus and his scholars, who improved but little on the models brought from Egypt<sup>c</sup>. However, as we have some dates in Pliny which fix the progression of this art with tolerable accuracy, we shall briefly touch on the history of this period from the earliest times; though the vague and nearly fabulous relations of Dædalus form some embarrassment in fixing the commencement of this era. Diodorus Siculus and Pausanias agree in supposing there was an artist of that name who worked for Minos in Crete, and built a labyrinth at Gnosus, of which no vestige was left, in the time of Augustus<sup>d</sup>. Homer, in his 18th Iliad, does mention a Δαίδαλος, who formed a dance for Ariadne; but, as he uses the same word a few lines after adjectively, to signify *artificially made*<sup>e</sup>, he might mean by the former no more than what the word imports, an *ingenious artist*. Eustathius interprets Homer as meaning that Dædalus only invented the dance itself, and not that he worked it in either wood, stone, or metal<sup>f</sup>.

The statues of Dædalus, mentioned by Pausanias, were all of wood, and resembled, as we may suppose, the Egyptian; for Philostratus says, that the statue of Memnon was formed with the feet joined together, and the arms resting on the seat, after the manner of cutting figures in

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, l. xiv. p. 640. Ed. Paris.

<sup>b</sup> Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 8. p. 651. Ed. Harduin. alt. The whole passage is beautiful, and marks a very refined taste.

<sup>c</sup> Strabo allows that the carved figures on the walls of the temples in Egypt resembled the Tyrrhenian, and the ancient Greek sculptures, l. xvii. p. 806. Ed. Paris.

<sup>d</sup> What is now shewn for the labyrinth, is a winding passage in a mountain near Gortyna, distant from Gnosus. Cedrenus seems

to have been the first blunderer on record who mistook this for the old labyrinth. See his Compend. Hist. p. 100 ad imum, Ed. Basil. 1566.

<sup>e</sup> Iliad. xviii. l. 592, and after, l. 611.

<sup>f</sup> There was one great work of Dædalus, or at least ascribed to him, the sepulchre of Æpytus, mentioned by Pausanias, which may give us an idea of that period. It was a heap of earth, of a moderate size, surrounded with a stone wall. Arcad. l. viii. p. 482. Ed. Xyland.

the



the age of Dædalus<sup>a</sup>. Such was probably the figure of Minerva in Troy, mentioned in the 6th Iliad, which seems to have been in a fitting posture. We have no remains of these rude ages; but the forms of the Juno of Samos, carved by Smilis of Ægina, said to be contemporary with Dædalus, and that of the Diana of Ephesus, by the hand of Endæus or Endyus, a pupil of Dædalus, are preserved on the medals of their respective cities<sup>b</sup>. These representations give a very unfavourable idea of the Dædalean age; yet we have no reason to doubt their authenticity, for the artists of polished times would never have disgraced their coinage with such uncouth figures, had they not been exact resemblances of objects made venerable by superstition. Some more of these wooden statues are described as existing at Thebes, Lebadea, Delos, and Crete, to the reign of Hadrian. They were nearly destroyed by age; and yet Pausanias, fired by religious and antiquarian enthusiasm, could find in them *something divine*; but what it was he does not explain. Some other of these statues were plated with gold, and their faces painted red, viz. two of Bacchus, in the forum of Corinth; which give us but an indifferent idea of the taste of that period. The Venus of Delos had only a head and arms, with a quadrangular basis instead of feet; which shews that these sculptors had improved but little on the rude ages of Greece, when unhewn stones, or at best cut in a quadrangular form, were the only emblems of their divinities. Yet even these figures were not, I think, introduced into European Greece till after the days of Homer. The name of Dædalus was, we know, given to artists long after the Athenian Dædalus is supposed to have flourished. Pausanias himself mentions one of Sicyon of that name, which he seems to confound with the Dædalus mentioned by Homer. Dipœnus and Scyllis, according to Pliny, were the founders of the school of sculpture in Sicyon, and were the first who were celebrated for carving in marble. They flourished, says the same author, in the 50th Olympiad, which is very probable; for at that period

<sup>a</sup> Philostratus de Vita Apollonii, l. vi. c. 4.

<sup>b</sup> The Diana of Ephesus is too well known to be described. The Juno of Samos may be found on many medals. See particularly one of Maximinus in Vaillantii Select. Numismata ex Museo Abbatis de Camps. For many of

these anecdotes the reader is referred to Athenagoræ Legatio, p. 66. Ed. Ox. 1682.

<sup>c</sup> One quotation may serve for many. Καὶ πλησίον ξόανον γυμνὸν Ἰρακλίου· Δαιδάλου δὲ αὐτό φασιν εἶναι τέχνην. Δαίδαλος δὲ ὅποσα εἰργάσατο, ἀτοπώτερα μὲν εἰς τὴν ὕψιν, ἱπιπρίπτει δὲ ὅμως τὸ καὶ ἘΝΘΕΟΝ τοῦτοις. Pausan. l. ii. p. 92. Ed. Xyland.



the states of Greece were beginning to cultivate their talents, and to settle a form of government. Pausanias, by a strange anachronism of above 400 years, says, that Dipœnus and Scyllis were the sons of that very Dædalus who lived so long in Crete<sup>a</sup>. Pliny indeed says, they were Cretans by birth, but that they settled at Sicyon<sup>b</sup>. Is it not then more likely that they were instructed long after by Dædalus *Sicyonius*, and that the identity of names was the source of the error?

However celebrated these artists were for marble sculpture, yet the most noted performance from their hands was cut in ebenus, a sort of lignum vitæ, with pieces of ivory interspersed; a practice, much improved afterwards<sup>c</sup>. Tectæus and Angelion were the scholars of Dipœnus: they carved the Apollo at Delos, and Callon their pupil the statue of Minerva Sthenias, in the citadel of Athens, about the 61st Olympiad. The other memorable pupils of this school were Theocles and Doricydas, both Lacedæmonians, whose works were to be seen, as Pausanias informs us, in his time at Elis<sup>d</sup>.

The school of Chios, formed by Malas about the same time with that of Sicyon, or probably before, was still more noted. Bupalus and Authermus<sup>e</sup> carved well in the 60th Olympiad; some of whose works had a place in the palace of Augustus Cæsar. Yet even in this period we are uncertain whether the Greeks knew the art of casting statues in metal. The oldest brass statue known in Greece, was one of Jupiter, in the Chalciœcos of Laconia<sup>f</sup>, in which the limbs had been separately formed, and then nailed together; yet this imperfect essay was ascribed to Learchus, a scholar of Dipœnus, who must have lived about the 53d or 54th Olympiad. So little was this art known in the school of Sicyon, when it was celebrated for marble sculpture. About the 63d Olympiad we find the names of Rhœcus and Theodorus, both of Samos; the same who built the temple of Juno, in the reign of Polycrates, and practised the art of casting statues with success.

From hence, I think, the schools of Sicyon and Chios divide this period into two parts. The Dædalean, or barbarous age, ceases in the 50th Olympiad; the middle age, which gave better forms to the human figure, but not the last polish, nor an exact representation of the minuter parts, may be extended to the 83d Olympiad; when the great genius of Phidias

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. l. ii. p. 111.

<sup>b</sup> Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. p. 724.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. l. ii. p. 125.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. l. v. p. 319.

<sup>e</sup> Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5. p. 724.

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. l. iii. p. 194.



broke out at once with full lustre in the Jupiter at Olympia, and the Minerva at Athens. Pausanias has described the former of these with great accuracy; and Livy the historian, with a sublimity of expression almost equal to the ideas of the artist, points out in a few words its effect on the beholder. Paulus Æmilius, says that invaluable writer, travelling through Greece, entered the temple, to survey the colossal statue; when, “Jovem velut præsentem intuens, motus animo est<sup>a</sup>.” It is generally known that this figure was composed of ivory, and ornamented with gold; a practice of great antiquity in the East: but few consider the difficulty of executing a grand idea with so minute materials<sup>b</sup>. If any other graces were still wanting in sculpture, the skill of Praxiteles and Lysippus gave those finished touches which produced sublimity in small figures, without diminishing their elegance. Such was sculpture in the days of Alexander. Some specimens of this era are most probably even now to be seen at Rome and Florence, viz. the Medicean Venus, the Hercules Farnese, and the Belviderian Apollo. The great genius of Michael Angelo was unequal to the imitation of these figures; and should we conceive them to be the production of a later age, as that of Augustus, or even later, as that of the Antonines, it will only raise our ideas of the age of Alexander, to find that the best artist of modern times

<sup>a</sup> Liv. l. xlv. c. 28.

<sup>b</sup> The reader may receive a slight hint on this subject from Pausanias, in his description of a Jupiter at Megara. The head was of ivory and gold; the body of some kind of parget, *πυλὸν τε καὶ γύψου*. This deficiency was occasioned by the poverty of the Megarensians, having been greatly distressed by their wars with Athens; for the inhabitants, in order to prove their intention of making the whole figure of the same rich materials with the head, shewed Pausanias, in the apartment behind the temple, the half-worked timbers, *ξύλα ἡμίεργα*, which Theocritus, a native, was to have covered with ivory and gold. Hence we may conclude the model was of wood, and the ivory little more than finicking. From the natural elasticity of ivory, these figures were affected by the variation of the weather; and some precautions were therefore always employed to preserve them. The Jupiter at Olympia was sprinkled with oil; the Minerva at Athens with water; and the Æsculapius at Epidaurus had a well under the throne, to

keep up a proper degree of moisture. Pausan. l. v. p. 308.

The Pelleneans preserved a fine figure of Minerva, carved by Phidias, by a rill of water underneath, to give a constant supply of moist air; for, says our author, *νότιον τῷ ἐλέφαντι ἐπιτρεῖται*. The difficulty of execution, with the attention necessary to the preservation of ivory figures, put a stop to the progress of this art. I shall only cite one further instance of the Phidian skill, mentioned by Tzetzes in his Chiliads; but wish I had an older authority. It is this. In a contest with Alcarnenes, his pupil, to form an image of Minerva, which was to be placed far above the eye, he contrived, by the knowledge of optics, to make it appear beautiful when in its *place*, though extremely deformed when on the same level with the eye. This example, if true, shews Phidias to have been superiour to his contemporaries, or any who followed him. Those who have not Tzetzes, may consult Junius de Pic. Vet. p. 147, 148.



was inferior to those sculptors who, by the general consent of antiquity, were themselves below the merits of a Phidias or Praxiteles.

Painting was posterior to sculpture ; being a much less obvious idea to the human understanding. Imitation is so congenial with our nature, that the formation of clay, to represent figures, would easily occur to the mind, and be soon put in practice : but the representation of natural objects, by lines on a plain surface, is more remote from common apprehension. We may suppose, as the Greeks did, that the shadows of objects might suggest the idea of outlines<sup>a</sup> : but this is the smallest branch of painting ; and how many progressive steps must be trod before they attained a correct design, a knowledge of light and shade, the truth of colouring, and a just composition ! Add to these the deception of perspective, with a bold but accurate expression of the various passions, and we shall not wonder that many of the severer sciences preceded this enchanting art. Besides, another obstacle to the improvement of painting, was the want of proper pigments. Pliny complains, that the knowledge of pigments was common in his age, when there were no good painters, and unknown in the finer ages of Greece, which supplied so many artists of lasting fame. This however is a mistake of Pliny's, for the last and best age of painting had a variety of colours (as Tully informs us in his Brutus), sufficient to represent the objects of nature ; whereas Timanthes, and all of the middle era, had but four<sup>b</sup>.

To shorten this work, which resembles too much a dissertation on the fine arts, let these distinctions of ages be noted ; first from the rude essays of antiquity, to the perfection of design, which reaches to the age of Parnæus, the brother of Phidias<sup>c</sup>. It is more than probable the two brothers assisted each other in the grand conceptions of the human form ; but the foundation had been laid before. The linear painting was introduced, says Pliny, by Philocles an Egyptian, or Cleanthes of Corinth. Whichever it was, is of no importance ; but it seems to be clear it came from Egypt. Ardices of Corinth, and Telephanes of Sicyon, improved this, by adding lines within the figure, *spargentes lineas intus*, as Pliny

<sup>a</sup> Plin. l. xxxv. c. 3. p. 682. "umbra hominis lineis circumducta." On this idea the Greeks founded an elegant and probable tale, related by Athenagoras, p. 66. Ed. Ox. Quintilian was of the same opinion.

<sup>b</sup> Plin. l. xxxv. c. 7. p. 689. Cicero in Brut. c. 70.

<sup>c</sup> Pliny calls this era the beginning of sculpture and painting. "Utraque cum Phidia coepit Olymp. 83. post' annos circiter 332." This last date must refer to the first Olympiad.



expresses it; which was a little extended by Cleophantus of Corinth, who made the ground of a different tinge from the figure. This artist, according to Cornelius Nepos, accompanied Demaratus into Italy about the 35th Olympiad, and, it may be inferred, taught this mode of painting to the Etrurians and colonists of Magna Græcia; for the oldest vases found in Italy have seldom more than two colours<sup>a</sup>. These paintings were much admired in Pliny's time, and yet they were but moderate improvements on the Egyptian figures; for the faces, as one may conjecture from the remains of antiquity, as well as from Pliny himself, were still in profile, and they had no idea of foreshortening. This difficult part was discovered by Cimon of Cleonæ, who drew his figures in different positions, looking up or down. He too made the joints of the limbs and the veins discernible in his pictures, as well as the folds of the drapery<sup>b</sup>. Panæus most probably followed soon after, who painted the battle of Marathon in one piece, wherein he distinguished the Athenian commanders from the Persian, so that they were known by their likeness to the real persons. This is then the first era of painting; and though the works of these early artists were preserved to after times, they were considered only as the beginnings of the art. Yet even then we may well suppose the knowledge of Design was nearly perfect; for sculpture had attained that supreme excellence in the person of Phidias, which is not compatible with the idea of ignorance in drawing. This first period may be extended to the 85th Olympiad, and Polygnotus of Thafos begins the second; when painting acquired almost every excellence in design, composition, and expression.

<sup>a</sup> Cleophantus seems to have been the first inventor of what we call Etruscan paintings; such as we find on the vases and the walls of the sepulchres. This mode of ornament probably ceased when the Romans were aggrandized, and Magna Græcia sunk into obscurity. None at least have been found in Herculaneum or Pompeii. The sanctity of the sepulchres preserved them from being pillaged by the Romans; so that our modern antiquarians have been indulged with the sight of many of these vases. It is however probable that the curious vessels found at Corinth (the native place of Cleophantus), when the military colony was rebuilding that city in the reign of Augustus, were of this kind. Strabo, l. viii.

p. 38. Ed. Paris. Cleophantus might have taught the art to the Corinthians, before his migration into Italy.

<sup>b</sup> Cimon of Cleonæ might paint the temple of Minerva at Plataea; which was probably erected before the days of Panæus, out of the spoils of the Persians.

The sum expended was 80 talents (viz. 15,500 l. sterling). These paintings are mentioned by Plutarch (in vit. Aristid.) and by Pausanias (vide Bæotica) as extant in their times. In every desolation of Plataea the temples were preserved, as Pausanias affirms; so their existence may be credited. These authors are, however, silent as to the date and the name of the artist.

This



This rare genius invented new attitudes, increased the number of pigments, painted in a lighter style, and varied from the hardness of the old masters<sup>a</sup>. Soon after Aglaophon appeared, whom Quintilian places on a level with Polygnotus<sup>b</sup>; and in the 95th Olympiad, Zeuxis discovered the effect of light and shade, and Parrhasius finished the extremities of his figures with a delicacy which Pliny's exquisite taste could feel and admire<sup>c</sup>. In the same age, Timanthes caught the living manners as they were in nature, and taught more than his pictures could express. Euxenidas was the master of Aristides, and Eupompus of Pamphilus.

Thus the art was advancing fast to perfection, when the school of Pamphilus began another era by the invention of colours, the introduction of geometry, and the combination of grace and majesty. I shall not dwell upon so copious a subject as the genius of Apelles and Ætion, or the diligence of Protogenes. One anecdote however may be mentioned; viz. that Apelles gave up the palm to Amphion for the disposition of his figures, and to Asclepiodorus for the knowledge of distances<sup>d</sup>. This evidently proves, that the school of Pamphilus brought the science and practice of painting to perfection in every branch; not only in geometrical, but most probably in aerial perspective, which is derived from observations on nature, and not reducible to rules. This third period united the correct outline of Panæus with the force and expression of Timanthes, adding, at the same time, the grace of attitude, the full perfection of colouring, and the just arrangement of the figures. It began about the reign of Philip of Macedonia, in the 105th Olympiad, when philosophy and science gave their aid, and the natural genius of the Greeks was roused by emulation, patronized by kings, and fostered by powerful republics.

This too was the period of Poetry; but we cannot trace the gradual progress here, as in the fine arts; for Homer and Hesiod, the best epic and didactic poets of Greece, are the first in order of time. Pindar however raised lyric poetry to a height which no one has yet equalled; and the old comedy of the Greeks, begun by Sufarion, Epicharmus and Phormis, was brought

<sup>a</sup> The temple at Delphi, and the painted portico at Athens, were adorned by his pencil. Plin. l. xxxv. c. 9. p. 690.

<sup>b</sup> Quintil. de Instit. Orat. l. xii. c. 10.

<sup>c</sup> Plin. l. xxxv. c. 10. p. 692. The passage is

fine, but too long for a chronological preface; though it may deserve a perusal from every lover of the fine arts.

<sup>d</sup> Plin. l. xxxv. c. 10. p. 695.

to perfection by Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes, before Alexander's age. Thespis and Phrynichus were the fathers of tragedy, so greatly improved afterwards by Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.

In another point of view, the times of which we are now treating include the rise and progress of philosophy and legislation in Greece. The seven wise men, as they are generally called, flourished in this period; and at the same time were framed those civil laws, the foundation of that Roman jurisprudence, which at this time guides the decisions of the judges in the greater part of Europe. Nor should eloquence be forgotten, which as it began with Pisistratus and Solon, so it was perfected by Demosthenes in the reign of Philip.

The last point which I shall mention is of more essential consequence, to all of the Christian religion;—that the great scheme of prophecy under the first covenant was completed before these tables are closed. From these prophecies we derive one main support of our faith in the gospel dispensation: they form the connecting links of that chain of evidence, which if duly considered, must enforce a belief of the whole; and shew that the state of the Jews was only a preparative for the appearance of the Messiah, when the fulness of time should come. But as the object of these tables is to settle the dates of historical facts, the following short scale may be of use, which, placing the series of prophets in chronological order at one view, may be referred to more easily than the tables. This is more necessary, as my arrangement differs a little from that of other writers.

	Began to prophesy A. Ch.	Closed their Prophecy.	Number of Years each prophesied.	Time from the beginning of the last Prophet.	Contemporary with other Prophets.
Jonah, about	820	Uncertain			
Amos, about	805	Uncertain		15	
Hosea, about	783	722	61	22	
Isaiah -	754	710	44	29	32
Micah -	752	721	31	2	31
Nahum, about	670			82	
Zephaniah, about	637			33	
Jeremiah -	626	582	44	11	
Joel, about	625			1	Contemporary with the preceding.
Habakkuk	606			19	Contemporary with the two preceding.
Obadiah -	605			1	Contemporary with the three preceding.
Daniel -	603	536	67	2	Contemporary with Jeremiah 22 years.
Ezekiel -	592	570	22	11	Contemporary with Daniel all his time.
Haggai -	520			72	
Zechariah -	520	518	2	72	
Malachi, about	434			86	

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It is clear in the first place, that the time when Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah began to prophesy, is distinctly marked in the sacred Scriptures, and these fix form the first class. The next are but four in number; viz. those who prophesied within certain limits, but who are not so exactly distinguished as the preceding class. The first of these is Amos, whose denunciations being uttered in the joint reigns of Uzziah and Jeroboam the Second, bound us to a period of 25 years, between 805 before Christ and 780. The next is Hosea, who prophesied in the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. This confines us to a period of 57 years, or probably something less; at least it could not be more than between 753 and 696 before Christ. The last prediction of Hosea seems to have been delivered after the captivity of king Hosea, and consequently about the 3d or 4th of Hezekiah. Micah was a little after Hosea; for his first prophecy is in the reign of Jotham, and his last year must be dated in the beginning of Hezekiah; so that the period of his mission is limited to about 33 years<sup>a</sup>. Zephaniah prophesied in the reign of Josiah, and most certainly before the reformation was completed, and very probably before it began. For this reason, I place his prophecy during the minority of the king. The third class of prophets are those whose age is uncertain, and for which we can only form a probable conjecture from internal marks. Jonah, the first of these, foretold the victories of Jeroboam the Second, which prophecy is now lost; and his denunciation against Nineveh may be placed in the reign of that prince; but I suppose early in the reign, for a reason inserted in the tables, in the year before Christ 819. The next is the prophecy of Nahum, whose predictions against Nineveh must be placed after the destruction of No-Amon; but the time is not more distinctly known. Joel's sublime prophecy seems to belong to the reign of Josiah. He threatens desolation to Judah, by the type of locusts, and a dearth arising from drought, which is mentioned by Jeremiah; but by the falling of the latter rain, and the consequent promise of future plenty, he in a subsequent prophecy typifies their delivery on repentance. This famine, together with the threats of Jeremiah and Joel, who were contemporary with Zephaniah, would dispose the Jews to embrace a thorough reformation, which was brought about in the 18th of Josiah, and averted the just vengeance of the Almighty.

<sup>a</sup> See the tables, year A. Ch. 721.



The Vision of Habakkuk menaces Judea with destruction, by the arms of the Chaldeans, but does not mention the Egyptians; and for this reason it is placed after the invasion of Necho, and before that of Nebuchadnezzar, about the year before Christ 605. Obadiah's denunciation was pronounced about the same time, for a reason given in the tables, in the year before Christ 604. As for Malachi, it is clear that he lived after the finishing of the 2d temple, and probably 80 years after Zechariah. A learned and most ingenious friend has suggested that it might be placed in the year 434; viz. just 430 years before the true time of the birth of our blessed Saviour. This is founded on a striking analogy; for as St. Paul informs us, that it was just 430 years from the promise of a Messiah to Abraham, till the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt, and the promulgation of the law on Mount Sinai, the type of our redemption; so the same time might be destined to elapse between the last promise of salvation through Malachi, and the actual verification of the type by the appearance of the Son of God on earth. Having thus endeavoured to fix the eras when the different prophets began their mission in the 1st column, so the second shews when the last prophecy of each was denounced. The 3d is merely the number of years between the former dates; and the 4th column marks the distance of time between each. Thus, for instance, Amos is supposed to be 15 years after Jonah, and Hosea 22 years after Amos. This account of the times varies much from the order in the Bible; but as no one has adopted that order as strictly chronological, so the reader is at liberty to fix them as his judgment directs; and a further enquiry may remove the difficulties and explain many obscure passages, when the dates of each are more distinctly known.

From this order however, imperfect as it is, some useful reflections may arise. Jonah is acknowledged to be first in the list in point of time, and in a moral view his history deserves a particular consideration. He is the only prophet who was expressly sent to a distant country to preach repentance, and denounce vengeance almost immediate on their impenitence. His denunciations had their full effect: the Ninevites repented, and were saved. What an instructive lesson was this for Israel! that a prophet of their own should be regarded in a distant city, large and populous, by a powerful king, who lived in the luxury of a court! that this prophet should avert the threatened danger, while the Israelites themselves continued in idolatry, and abandoned that God who had inspired the

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the prophecy. Such were the suggestions, undoubtedly, of the pious remnant of Israel, while the larger part continued impenitent. The example of the Ninevites was more effectual with Judah; for in Josiah's reign, it should seem that the anger of God was ready to burst on them, when the repentance of the king and people operated as on the Ninevites, and gained a deliverance from immediate destruction. Our Saviour himself teaches us to apply the mission of Jonah in this sense, and allows it to be a type of the gospel dispensation, and a conditional rejection of the Jews: Mat. ch. xii. ver. 38, 41. Luke ch. xi. ver. 29, 32.

Another obvious reflection is started by inspecting the 4th column of the scale, that God did not abandon his people even in the times of their apostasy. From Amos to the last prophecy of Daniel, is a period of 269 years, in which the succession was almost without interruption. Thus Micah's first prophecy was between 753 and 738 before Christ, and consequently he was contemporary with Isaiah. Nahum may be dated about 40 years after Isaiah, who was most probably within his memory. Zephaniah, Jeremiah, and Joel lived at the same time, and Jeremiah was coeval with Daniel and Ezekiel. Daniel's visions were continued till the return from the captivity; and, as this was the completion of many prophecies, there was a small cessation to the 2d of Darius, when the Jews required some encouragement to go on with the 2d temple. Being now settled in a civil polity, Malachi closed the scheme by a sublime and very particular prediction of the Messiah. Other hints may be suggested on this subject by abler hands; but it is now time to shew what are the principal facts, which may be settled by the following tables, in sacred or profane history.

The first of these is the foundation of Carthage, which is generally placed in the 7th year of Pygmalion, on the authority of Josephus<sup>a</sup>; but from the same authority I should place it in the 27th year of the same king; for though Josephus mentions the 7th year of Pygmalion, in his citation from Menander, yet he proves it by two other dates which are quite inconsistent with his first; for, says he, it was 155 years 8 months from the accession of Hiram, and 143 years 8 months from the temple of Solomon. Now as Hiram, according to Josephus, mounted the throne in the year before Christ 1019, deduct 155, and the remainder is 864, consequently, with 8 months added, it is the current year 863. In like

<sup>a</sup> Contra Ap. p. 1341. Ed. Hudsoni.



manner the temple was founded on the 21st of April, year before Christ 1008. Josephus probably began his date from the beginning of the next year, as his words may fairly imply, and then the subtraction of 143 years 8 months falls in with the year 863 in the tables. Here then is a tolerable agreement in these two dates; but then you are led to the 27th year of Pygmalion, and not the 7th. Now the consistency of these numbers proves them to be right, and by every rule of criticism we must suppose the first number is defective. This is easily accounted for by the use of the literal arithmetic; it was probably written κ ζ' έτει. Now the kappa, which stands for 20, might be mistaken for a redundant κ, and omitted by some after-transcriber. It must be confessed this corruption is an ancient one; for Solinus seems to have read it the 7th year of Pygmalion, as he gives 737 years precisely for the duration of Carthage; and this author wrote before the seat of empire was transferred to Constantinople. But still, if we must read the 7th year of Pygmalion's reign, the whole tradition of Dido's flight is overturned; for her brother was but 16 years old in his 7th year; that is, scarcely major; and we can hardly suppose him an established and avaricious tyrant at so early an age. Appian too says that Carthage stood 700 years. He would more probably have said about 750, had he supposed the time to be 737 years. But if the foundation is placed 20 years later, the duration of the city would have been no more than 717 years, and Appian might think a round number, though rather less, sufficiently exact for his purpose<sup>a</sup>.

The next fact, which seems to have been mistaken, is, respecting the concurrence of the reigns of Hoshea, the last king of Israel, and Hezekiah. Usher seems, without reason, to differ from the sacred Scriptures, and Prideaux follows him. The points to be attended to are, that Hoshea's 1st year corresponds with part of the 12th of Ahaz, and part of Hoshea's 3d year with the 1st of Hezekiah. Now place the 1st of Hoshea within

<sup>a</sup> Dodwell, in his Dissertation against Hanno's Periplus, adopts the idea of Carthage being founded in the 7th of Pygmalion. To support this opinion, he gives a catalogue of the Tyrian kings in the form of annals; and but differs from Josephus in giving 18 years to the younger sons of the nurse of Abdastratus. This he grounds on the words μὴδ' οὐκ, which

shew that more than one reigned. Syncellus, however, read the words μὴδ' οὐκ. Let the old words remain, and they may only mean that the other sons shared the government; though only one had the title of king. The sons of Pisistratus, at Athens, afford a similar instance.



the 12th year of Ahaz, but not at the beginning of the year: a part of that year will fall in with the 13th of Ahaz; and consequently his 3d year will correspond with the 14th and 15th of Ahaz. We must therefore place the partnership of Hezekiah with his father some time in the latter part of the 14th, or beginning of the 15th year. Usher, however, places the 1st of Hezekiah in the 16th year of Ahaz; though he allows Hoshea began his reign in the 12th of Ahaz; so that the 3d of Hoshea must have been completed before the 1st of Hezekiah. This cannot coincide entirely with the sacred Scriptures; and though a matter which may be deemed of little moment, yet if the difficulty can be removed without violence to the text, why should it be suffered to remain? for objections have been raised to the sacred Scriptures on points of no greater importance than the present.

The captivity of Jehoiakim is placed in these tables in the 3d year of his reign, and not the 4th. This is fixed on the express authority of the prophet Daniel, which cannot be easily controverted; and the completion of the 70 years will then fall in with the 3d of Cyrus, in the era of Nabonassar; which all have agreed to be the first year of his reigning sole monarch of the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, and Persians. It will be objected that this account clashes with Jeremiah, who, in the 4th of Jehoiakim, prophesies destruction to Jerusalem from the hand of Nebuchadnezzar<sup>a</sup>: but, on a further review, it is plain that this objection is not valid. Jeremiah threatens Jerusalem, and various nations of the East, with utter destruction; but he does not say Jerusalem was not tributary to Babylon at the time of his prophecy. He predicts a continuance of the captivity for 70 years: but he does not fix the beginning of that calamity; and the duration might have been running on at the time when he wrote; for it was equally a prophecy to fix the restoration of Judah to a certain period, as it would have been to foretell the commencement of their captivity. But after all, was the first attack of Jerusalem an utter destruction? So far from it, that the king was restored; the temple was plundered but of *part* of its vessels, as Daniel informs us, and the army of Babylon seems to have retired very soon. Nor were many captives led away; but, according to an Eastern custom, yet observed by the Turks, Daniel, and some other young men of good families,

<sup>a</sup> Jeremiah, ch. xxv. ver. 1.



were carried off and educated in the palace of Babylon. This then was but a menace of the Almighty to bring the offending Jews to repentance; and had they repented, the state might have flourished under Jehoiakim, as it did in the reign of Josiah, when he was certainly an ally of the king of Assyria, and more probably paid tribute to that monarch. But, when the king of Judah still acted unrighteously, Jeremiah was sent in his 4th year with a heavier menace of utter ruin, which was accomplished in a few years after. In the 7th year of his reign, he revolted from his allegiance, and, as we may suppose, instigated by Necho, king of Egypt, who died soon after\*. The next king, Psammis, might find it difficult, in the beginning of his reign, to support so distant an alliance; and Jehoiakim, in consequence, was abandoned by Egypt; successive inroads spoiled the country, and the prophecy was gradually completed. If this explanation be allowable, there will be no apparent inconsistency, and the narration of Daniel will agree with the prediction of Jeremiah.

The next fact in historical order is the beginning of the captivity of Jehoiachin, or Jeconiah, who succeeded Jehoiakim. This is a point of great consequence in explaining the prophet Ezekiel, who dates his predictions from that era, in which he himself was carried captive to Babylon. This may seem to be a point of small difficulty; for the history informs us that Jehoiakim died in the 11th year of his reign; that Jehoiachin or Jeconiah reigned after him but three months; that he was then deposed and taken to Babylon, and Zedekiah his uncle mounted the throne. Thus then our enquiry is limited to 2 years: does then the deposition and captivity of Jeconiah fall in the 11th of Jehoiakim, or in the 1st of Zedekiah? Now as Ezekiel dates his prophecies most precisely by years, months, and days, and as the prophet Jeremiah relates some of the same facts, it is necessary we should form an agreement between them. The chief facts to guide our search are, first, the exact time of the siege of Jerusalem. Jeremiah says it began in the 9th year of Zedekiah, on the 10th month and 10th day. (ch. lii. ver. 4.) Ezekiel informs us, (ch. xxiv. ver. 1, 2.) that, during the 9th year of the captivity, he told the elders of Judah, then resident at Baby-

\* The 16th, viz. the last year of Necho's reign falls in with the 7th of Jehoiakim, year before Christ 601. J. P. 4113.



lon, at the very time, the exact day when Nebuchadnezzar began the siege. Thus then it is plain that part of the 9th year of the captivity must coincide with the 9th of Zedekiah.

The second date is mentioned in the 40th chapter of Ezekiel, ver. 1st; that in the 25th year of the captivity, in the beginning of the year; on the 10th day in the 14th year after that the city was smitten, he received the vision of the Temple. Hence we see the 25th year, or part of it, must fall in with the 14th from the destruction of Jerusalem.

The third and last fact is the deliverance of Jehoiachin king of Judah, which, according to Jeremiah, fell out in the 37th year of his captivity, in the 12th month, on the 25th day. This deliverance happened in the first year of Evilmerodach, and consequently some part of the 37th year must coincide with the first year of Ilvarodamus in the era of Nabonassar, who, by the consent of all, is the Evilmerodach of the sacred Scriptures. These dates must be made consistent with each other. Usher places the captivity of Jehoiachin or Jeconiah in the same parallel with the 11th and last year of Jehoiakim. This cannot be perfectly exact; for then the 9th year of the captivity must be completed before the 9th of Zedekiah could begin, as it is plain from the tables: for the captivity, by Usher's scheme, must begin about March, in the year of the Julian period 4115, and the 9th year would close at the same time in 4124. In this case Ezekiel could not have declared, as he did, in the 9th year write the name of this day: the king of Babylon set himself against Jerusalem *this same day*. This was not a prediction of a future event, but an equally miraculous declaration of an event, transacted at a distance on the very day when it happened. This then obliges us to search for some other time better adapted to our purpose.

My supposition is, that Jehoiakim died in his 11th year, about the end of the 7th month, or the middle of our October; that Jehoiachin reigned 3 months 10 days; at the end of which time he was carried to Babylon; and that the beginning of Zedekiah is to bear the same date, or very nearly so.

Thus then the captivity must be dated from some part of the 11th month after that Jewish year, which corresponds with the Julian year 4117, before Christ 597. But the Jewish year beginning in March, the 11th month falls within the next Julian year, answering to our January and February. To be then as exact as the nature of these tables will allow,



allow, the date of this captivity begins about the 25th of January in the year before Christ 596. There is no difficulty in supposing that Ezekiel's calculations, as they are so much more minute than those of any other of the prophets, would be computed from the day of the captivity; and then it will be easy to shew that this scheme will agree with the several dates aforementioned. I shall just premise, that when the months are called first, second, &c. these are not to be considered as reckoned from the date of Ezekiel's bondage, but as the real names of the months in the Jewish calendar. Thus, for instance, when he says, (ch. xxix. ver. 1.) In the tenth year in the tenth month, he means the last month of the tenth year of his captivity, though but the tenth month, if reckoned from the Jewish Nisan. Thus too, in ch. xxxii. he says, in the 12th year in the 12th month, in the first day of the month, &c. Now this is really but the second month of the 12th year of his bondage, though the last of the civil year of the Jews. But when in the following chapter, ver. 21. the prophet says, In the 12th year of our captivity in the 10th month; he must be understood to mean the last month of that year of his captivity; viz. about ten months after his former prediction. On this plan, the 9th year of Ezekiel's bondage at Babylon began with the 9th of Zedekiah, about the middle of January, and the siege of Jerusalem commenced in or near the 25th of December in the same year; and consequently the prophets Ezekiel and Jeremiah are perfectly consistent with each other. As easily does the 25th year, first month and 10th day, mentioned in Ezekiel, ch. xl. coincide with the 14th year from the destruction of the Temple; for that 14th year begins in the fourth month ninth day of the Jewish year, which answers to the latter part of June in the year before Christ 573. Now the 25th year first month falls in with March the following year, and consequently during the course of the 14th year, which was not closed till about four months after.

In like manner, the deliverance of Jehoiachin from captivity may fall in with the 1st of Ilvarodamus or Evilmerodach. It is said by Jeremiah<sup>a</sup> to have happened in the 37th year 12th month and 25th day. Now this 37th year begins, as we have said, about the middle of January, in the year before Christ 560, and the months and days there numbered lead us to about the 12th of March of that year. Now Evilmerodach ascended

<sup>a</sup> Jeremiah, ch. lli. ver. 31.



the throne the year before; but at what time we know not: if we date from his accession, there is no inconsistency in supposing he might release the captive king before his 1st year was expired, though that year is marked 2 in the era of Nabonassar, which may be accounted for by recollecting the form of that calculation of the Babylonish kings, explained in the beginning of this treatise. Where else indeed can it be placed? If in the month Nisan of the Julian year 4153, then it is confessed the 12th month would correspond with the 1st of Evilmerodach; but no part of the 9th year could fall in with the 9th of Zedekiah. If in the Nisan of the next ensuing year, it is plain that the 12th month cannot coincide with any part of the 1st year of Evilmerodach. This may be more clear from the following scheme:

Julian period, year 4154, beginning Jan. 1st.

Nabonassarean year 188, beginning Jan. 11th.

Jewish year, supposed to be the 37th of Jehoiachin's captivity, beginning about March 15th.

Now the 12th month and 25th day of the 37th year must fall in March of the Julian period 4155, and in the year of Nabonassar 189. But Evilmerodach was king in 187, and consequently his 1st year must have been completed by any computation before the expiration of 188.

Should it be asked, why these calculations begin from the eleventh month, and not from some one preceding, the answer may be found by examining the 9th year in the tables. Had this been dated even but from the tenth month, then Ezekiel's declaration, that the siege of Jerusalem began on that very day when he was speaking to the elders, would have fallen in the 8th year, and not the 9th of Zedekiah; that is, just one year before the event took place. This mode of computing time from the day of the event may be thought to be different from that of the other prophets; and why, it may be asked, should Ezekiel be an exception? But it should be observed, that the other prophets seldom date their predictions by a less space than a year; and if any one prophet fix his dates with more precision, we must suppose it was with some view, and intended to be noticed by the reader.

Sir Isaac Newton fixes this event at the same time with these tables, though he begins the 37th year of the captivity in the Nisan of the year 187.



187. This he is enabled to do, by throwing the 1st of Zedekiah higher than I think history will warrant, which arises from what has been treated of before, giving 45 years to Nebuchadnezzar.

It may be objected, that in the 2d Book of Chronicles, ch. xxxvi. ver. 10. this event is said to have happened when the year was *expired*, and consequently the captivity should be dated from the beginning of the next year; whereas these tables place it at the latter end of the preceding Jewish year. But in answer, it may with truth be said, that the Hebrew particle *lamed*, on which this translation rests, may as well signify *at* or *about* the return of the year, as that the year was expired, which is consistent with the plan here followed.

In the next place, the dates of 70 years in the prophet Zechariah, should be considered, as they seem to have confirmed Sir Isaac Newton in the opinion of adding 2 years to Nebuchadnezzar's reign. This however is not apparently necessary; the words of the prophet are, "In the eighth month, in the second year of Darius, came the word of the Lord unto Zechariah," (ch. i. ver. 1.)—And again—"Upon the four and twentieth day of the eleventh month, or Sebat, in the second year of Darius, the angel of the Lord said, How long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem, and on the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation these threescore and ten years," ch. i. ver. 7 and 12. From the 2d of Darius, therefore, we must look back 70 years for the beginning of the Lord's indignation. Sir Isaac Newton fixes it to the 9th of Zedekiah, when the siege was undertaken: but it may as properly be placed in the 7th year, when Zedekiah broke his oath, which seems to have been followed by immediate vengeance against the fenced cities of Judah, and at last against Jerusalem. It cannot be denied that the ravage of war may be severely felt in a country, before the metropolis is formally invested; and then, from the year, Julian period 4194, count 70 years, and it brings you to 4124, corresponding with the 7th of Zedekiah. One observation is obvious enough, that as the prophet reckons by the Jewish year, beginning in March, so when he names the eleventh month, answering to part of January and February, and yet calls it the 2d year of Darius, it is plain that he computes the time from the accession of Darius, and does not follow the mode of the era of Nabonassar. If he had, he must have placed his second vision in the 3d year of Darius. The other date is found in ch. vii. ver. 1.

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“In the fourth year of king Darius, the fourth day of the ninth month, (viz. about the 20th of November) the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Speak unto all the people of the land, and unto the priests, saying, When ye fasted and mourned in the fifth and seventh month, even those 70 years, did ye at all fast unto me?” These words imply, that the Jews had observed two distinct fasts for 70 years before the fourth year of Darius. Sir Isaac Newton supposes them to be memorials of the temple being burnt, and the murder of Gedaliah; but they might as well be in memory of the siege of Jerusalem, and the final extinction of their hopes by the departure of the Egyptian forces. The fourth of Darius, according to the era, falls in with the year before Christ 518, of the Julian period 4196. The 70th year upwards is that, when Jerusalem was strictly besieged, (having been invested about six months before) and when the famine prevailed in the city. The failure of the alliance with Egypt was most probably about the 7th month; for Ezekiel uttered a prophecy against them in the 10th month, that their perfidy should be severely punished; and the intelligence might be so long in coming from Judea to Babylon, the residence of the prophet. If so, this will account for the second fast. Many would indeed suppose that Ezekiel could not receive the news so soon; for that prophet’s account of the city being smitten, is dated in the year after, and about 18 months after the event. But this does not imply that the intelligence then brought was the first news of the destruction, but a more particular relation, delivered at a time when the hand of the Lord was upon him, and when God vouchsafed to confirm the testimony, and to declare the cause and effect of the calamities they had just undergone<sup>a</sup>.

As for the era of the burning of the temple, it was ennobled by a consolatory completion; for the new temple was finished in the 6th of Darius in about February, that is, within the 70th year, dated from the fourth month when the city was taken. For the 1st year began about June, year before Christ 586, Julian period 4128, and the 70th of consequence in the same month in the year before Christ 517, Julian period 4197: so that the next February, concurrent with the 6th of Darius, falls in with the year before mentioned. This analogy is too striking to

<sup>a</sup> Ezek. ch. xxxii. ver. 21—33.



be omitted in this short account of the tables, though it is not particularly noticed in the sacred writings.

The next point to be considered is much more difficult to settle; viz. whether the Belshazzar of Daniel is the Ilvarodamus or the Nabonadius of the era of Nabonassar. Sir John Marsham thinks he is the Evilmerodach, while Raleigh, Usher, Newton, Prideaux, the authors of the Universal History, Rollin, and indeed many others, are positive that Belshazzar was Nabonadius<sup>a</sup>. This opinion rests on the authority of Josephus, who applies the narrative of the prophet to the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, in the 10th book of his Antiquities of the Jews. But his authority is much weakened when we find he embraces another opinion in his book against Apion; for he there cites Berofus, concerning the history of Babylon, and appeals to him as corroborating the truth of the sacred Scriptures; though his account of the taking of Babylon is every way discordant with such an application of Daniel's text. It is clear from the prophet's words, the feast was at Babylon, that the king Belshazzar was present, and being troubled with the vision of a hand writing on the wall, sent for Daniel to expound the inscription. His explanation was, first, that the king's days were numbered; intimating he should die soon: secondly, that his kingdom was divided and given to the Medes and Persians. The first part was verified that very night by the violent death of Belshazzar. Such is Daniel's account, which does not apparently refer to the last taking of Babylon. Let us now hear the relation of Berofus, in respect to

<sup>a</sup> It is said by the Persian historians quoted by D. Herbelot, (see *Bahaman* and *Kiresh*) that Bahaman, called Ardshir, who is supposed to be the Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks, attacked Balthasar, who governed Babylon, and sent Kiresh or Cyrus in his room, who greatly favoured the Jews. From this, some writers have doubted the true age of Cyrus. Now the congruity of the era of Nabonassar with the Greek historians, and of both with the sacred writings of Ezra, &c. prove the authenticity of the facts. The author of the Ancient Universal History allows this may be a mistake, (vol. v. 8vo. Ed. p. 423.) as both Cyrus and Artaxerxes Longimanus favoured the Jews. The learned translator of the life of Nadir Shah grants, that in the history of the Caianian family there seems to be *a chasm* of many years

in the annals of the Persians, as they omit three reigns. Whatever was the cause of this omission, it destroys the credit of the Oriental historians. These Caianians are the same with the Persian kings, from Cyrus to Darius Codomannus, a period which falls in the most enlightened age of Greece; and more particularly unfortunate is it, that the three kings omitted, viz. Mnemon, Ostrus, and Arogus, had constantly an intercourse with the Grecian states, and were the last kings but one of that family. Sir W. Jones supposes the records might be lost or neglected during the Grecian wars. If this were the case, (which I doubt) still the memoirs of this Caianian family are not to be trusted by the author's own confession. Life of Nadir Shah, pref. p. liii.

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this great event. Nabonnidus, says he, led an army against Cyrus, but, being defeated, shut himself up in the city of the Borshippeni : Cyrus then besieged and took Babylon, and afterwards marched against Borsippa. Nabonnidus, being unable to endure a siege, surrendered himself to Cyrus, who treated him kindly ; but sent him into Carmania, where he died. From this narrative it appears that the king was neither in Babylon during the siege, nor was he slain afterwards : yet Josephus affirms immediately after, that this whole citation from Berofus is quite agreeable to their sacred books<sup>a</sup>. If so, the feast of Belshazzar, in Daniel, must relate to some other king of Babylon, before Nabonadius. Let me now apply it to Evilmerodach. The character of luxury and drunkenness is applicable to him, and also to Belshazzar ; and as the one is said, by Daniel, to have been slain, the other was assassinated, according to Berofus. Evilmerodach was the son of Nebuchadnezzar, as we find in the same author ; and Daniel gives that title to Belshazzar in several places. It is allowed, that, in the language of the sacred Scriptures, the word *son* may signify a grandson, or lineal descendant ; but Jeremiah had prophesied that those nations should serve Nebuchadnezzar and his son, and his *son's son*<sup>b</sup>. The son was doubtless Evilmerodach, and the grandson was, I think, Nabonadius. Now, if Daniel had meant the last king of Babylon, Nabonadius, under the name of Belshazzar, he would most probably have called him grandson, and not the son ; as he would seem else to contradict Jeremiah's prediction. Nor is there any inconsistency in the length of the reign, for Daniel does not mention more than the third year of Belshazzar ; and the era of Nabonassar, when rightly understood, gives that very space to Ilvarodamus, or Evilmerodach.

So far the circumstances all concur ; but one difficulty still remains, which the authors of the Universal History deem insuperable, viz. that, in *our* version of Daniel, Darius the Mede took the kingdom immediately after the death of Belshazzar.

This, if clearly proved, would settle the point against me ; but the fidelity of the translation may be justly suspected. The words are, ' in that night was Belshazzar, king of the Chaldeans, slain ; *and* Darius the Median took the kingdom.' But the Hebrew *vau*, here translated

<sup>a</sup> Ταῦτα σύμφωνον ἔχει ταῖς ἡμετέραις βίβλοις τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Joseph. Hud. p. 1344. l. xxxiii.

<sup>b</sup> Jeremiah, ch. xxvii. ver. 7.



*and*, is often used in an indefinite sense, corresponding with the English particle *now*; so that we may as well suppose the chapter should have ended at the word *slain*; and the history of Darius might be inserted in the next, though not following it immediately in time, as the prophet Daniel does not observe a chronological order in the arrangement of his facts. It must be owned, that Sir John Marsham endeavours to remove the difficulty in another manner; by supposing Neriglissar, the successor of Evilmerodach, to be Darius the Mede; thus tacitly allowing the integrity of our present version; but as this assertion is without proof, so neither is it necessary to have recourse to so forced an expedient.

The vision, as interpreted by Daniel, had two distinct parts: the first was a prediction of the king's death, which was fulfilled by a conspiracy that very night; the other was the transfer of the empire of Babylon to the Medes and Persians. This might not be immediate; but the completion of the first would enforce a belief of the second. The prophecy of Isaiah to Ahaz was confessedly of this nature<sup>a</sup>. The most important part was the hope of the Messiah; but this was a distant event, described from ver. 14 to 16, and could not afford present comfort: wherefore he previously foretells that the abhorred land shall be deprived of both her kings before that Shear-Jashub his son, then an infant, should be able to distinguish good from evil. These prophecies seem nearly parallel instances; and many more might be urged, if necessary. All that shall be added to these arguments is, that it may seem more consonant to the spirit of prophecy, that Daniel should foretell the destruction of Babylon, under Evilmerodach, viz. before its decline, than in the last of Nabonadius, when the Medes and the Persians had overrun the empire, and were besieging the capital city. As for Herodotus, he is silent as to the king of Babylon during the siege; for it is plain he reserved many facts, relating to those monarchs, for his intended history of Assyria; so that his testimony does not weigh on either side. Xenophon, I own, is positive as to the death of the king at the capture of Babylon; and how far his evidence weighs, I am very conscious from the excellence of his character; though it is certain that his *Cyropædia* was not followed by the best historians of antiquity<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Isaiah, ch. vii. ver. 3—16.

<sup>b</sup> In discussing the life of Cyrus, I shall give my opinion of the *Cyropædia*.



The division of the chapters in our Bible can give no authority to either side, being merely human invention. Junius and Tremellius, in their version, certainly understood it in the same sense as I have suggested; for they end the fifth chapter of Daniel at the 30th verse, “*interfectus est Beltschatzar rex Chaldæorum*,” and begin the next with “*Darius autem Medus, &c.*” The apocryphal book of Baruch likewise (which may have some authority in history) calls the son of Nebuchadnezzar, Balthasar; and this he must borrow from the prophet Daniel, and consequently might think the Belshazzar the same as Evilmerodach.

Sir I. Newton, indeed, supposes that Evilmerodach was in disgrace<sup>a</sup> when Baruch wrote, and therefore Balthasar, or Belshazzar, is named as the next in succession; but I know no authority for this supposition. Thus, having balanced these arguments, let the reader determine for himself. Whichever king is supposed to be the Belshazzar of the sacred Scriptures, the truth of the prophecies will remain unimpeached: but it may be observed, that the opinion of Usher, and the other writers, is only supported by the antiquities of Josephus; and this history is contradicted by another work of the same author, equally authentic with the former.

The history of Cyrus is the next remarkable circumstance in order of time. This has exercised the abilities of many writers, both ancient and modern, who have either rejected or adopted the different dates, as would most easily coincide with the system they embraced. However, it is generally agreed that he died in the year of the era of Nabonassar 219, which is marked as the 1st of Cambyfes; but what his age was at his death, is more uncertain. Lucian, a lively and pleasing writer, says, in his *Macrobii*, that he lived 100 years, and died of grief at seeing the misconduct of his son Cambyfes. This account is improbable; nor is it admitted by any other writer. Cicero, on the authority of Dinon, an old author of Persian history, says he lived to his 70th year<sup>b</sup>. This then fixes his birth to the year of the era 149; which, being generally accepted, I shall not dispute. Different accounts are given of his birth. Herodotus had received four, out of which he has related that which seemed most probable; but even this was so highly embellished by the Eastern writers, that he is obliged to render it more palatable, by explaining away the miracle of his being nursed by a bitch. I have no doubt Herodotus found

<sup>a</sup> Newton's Chronol. p. 302.

<sup>b</sup> De Divinat. l. i. c. 23.



the narrative ready formed to his hands ; and the dream of the king of Media is no improbable circumstance, as this species of divination was much regarded in the East. Justin<sup>a</sup> differs, in some few points, from Herodotus, and makes it more miraculous ; so the historian, whom he abridged, Trogus Pompeius, might follow some other of the three reports which Herodotus had rejected.

Xenophon has stripped it effectually of the marvellous, by only mentioning the names of his parents ; in which he agrees with Herodotus and others. There is indeed one general consent ; that the king of Media married his daughter Mandane to Cambyfes, a Persian. Justin calls him “ *mediocris vir* ;” Herodotus only says he was of a *good family*, οἰκῆτις ἀγαθῆς, and a *gentle disposition* ; but Xenophon makes him king of Persia. These three accounts may be reconciled. We are told by Herodotus, it was the custom of the Persians to respect the royal family in a conquered province, and often appoint them to the throne. Now as the Persians were known to resemble the Medes, and to have derived many of their customs from that nation, this might be one ; and, as Persia had been conquered some years, it was good policy in the king of Media to look out for one of the blood royal, and attach him to his interest by marrying him to his daughter. Yet as the royal branches are subject to danger when a kingdom is overturned, Cambyfes might choose an obscure, or at least not an elevated, station, to avoid the envy resulting from his family connections ; which, too, might agree with his natural disposition. Hence he might justly be called “ *mediocris vir*” when he married Mandane, as his elevation to the throne was a consequence of the marriage ; and Herodotus would mention his family with respect, being descended from Achæmenes, the founder of the royal race of Persia. Xenophon, last of all, might call him king at the time of the birth of Cyrus, as he might be crowned before that event. I shall not controvert the further account of Xenophon, that Cyrus visited his grandfather in Media in his 12th year, and returned to his father Cambyfes, where he stayed till he was sent into Media with an army. Thus we are nearly agreed as to the beginning of Cyrus ; but the subsequent facts of his reign are much perplexed. The principal discordance is in this one point. Did Cyrus receive the kingdom of Media by inheritance, or by conquest ? Xenophon asserts the for-

<sup>a</sup> Justin. l. i. c. 4.



mer in his *Cyropædia*; in which he is followed by Usher, Prideaux, and the authors of the *Ancient Universal History*. All the ancient writers, however, except Xenophon, are as positively of the latter opinion<sup>a</sup>, viz. Herodotus, Ctesias, Aristotle de Rep. Plato, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Justin, &c<sup>b</sup>.

These authorities are considered as of little importance in comparison with Xenophon, who had, say the writers of the *Universal History*, frequent opportunities of enquiry while he attended the younger Cyrus into Asia. I am far from contesting this point: he certainly gained some knowledge of the ancient history of Media, as may be proved from the facts he relates in his *Anabasis*: but, unfortunately, these very facts contradict the *Cyropædia*, as the reader may judge from the following passage, in his third book, noticed by the ingenious W. Moyle, in his letters to Dr. Prideaux<sup>c</sup>. It is there found, that, when the 10,000 Greeks were marching by the Tigris in their famous retreat, they met with two large deserted cities on its banks, Larissa and Mespila, formerly inhabited by the *Medes*. The words he uses are, τὸ παλαιόν, for one, and ποτὲ for the other. These cities, he says, were taken by the Persians in their wars with the Medes. Mespila, he adds, was the city to which the queen of Media fled ὅτε ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. Can any other direct sense be given to this passage, than that the Median empire was destroyed by the Persians<sup>d</sup>? Hutchinson, in his note, endeavours to explain the sense away; and Usher, to remove the difficulty, denies the *Anabasis* to be Xenophon's work, against the testimony of all antiquity in its favour<sup>e</sup>. To such expedients are we driven, by forcing historical evidence to give way to system. This war, mentioned by Xenophon, cannot be applied to the time when the Medes revolted under Darius Nothus, for that war was but six years before the expedition of Cyrus; and so elegant a writer

<sup>a</sup> Plato, in the *Menexenus*, has these words: Κῦρος ἐλευθερώσας Πέρσας—τοὺς δεσπότας Μήδους ἰδουλωσάτο.

<sup>b</sup> Zonaras agrees with Xenophon, but he may be considered as a modern.

<sup>c</sup> Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 42.

<sup>d</sup> The word ἀπώλισαν is a correction of Stephens. Leunclavius reads ἀπώλλυσαν, which Hutchinson seems to think was the *old* reading; but, to support his system, admits the emendation of a modern critic. The gram-

matical sense of each word must be left to abler linguists; but the sieges of each city prove the Medes were at war with the Persians.

<sup>e</sup> We might at least produce twenty ancients, of established character, who have declared the author to be Xenophon. It is confessed, that, in the third book of his *Hellenics*, he says Themistogenes wrote a history of the retreat of the ten thousand; but his own account of that expedition might have been written afterwards.

would



would not have used the word *παλαιόν* in the relation of so recent an event. Hutchinson, however, plumes himself on the discovery of a passage in Herodotus<sup>a</sup>, indicating a revolt of the Medes under Darius Hytaspes, to which the words shewing an older date might be applied. But then he should have remembered the geographical situation of Larissa and Mespila, on the banks of the Tigris, that is, in those parts of Assyria Proper, most distant from Media; consequently the Medes must have been in possession of *all* Assyria before they could have possessed those cities, which could not be the case after the Persians were masters of the empire. This too excludes the idea of any more ancient war between the Medes and Persians; for though the kings of Assyria from Pul might be, and I think were, of the race of the Medes, yet they were not reduced by the Persians, but by the Babylonians, and Cyaxares the Mede; and part of the region of Assyria Proper was given to Nebuchadnezzar after the destruction of Nineveh<sup>b</sup>. As for the 2d race of Median kings descended from Deioces, they seem never to have possessed all Assyria, but under the conduct of this Cyrus who is the object of our present enquiry; so that no other war can be meant but that between Cyrus and the last king of Media, without overturning the credit of all history. Yet however clearly the fact may be proved that the Persians actually conquered Media, yet the time when it happened is more difficult to ascertain, as there are various accounts of the beginning of the reign of Cyrus. Herodotus gives him 29 years complete, and Ctesias (whom Eusebius and Justin follow) extends it only to the 30th year, so that these two authors are nearly agreed. The era of Nabonassar allows him only 9 years reign over Babylon. Xenophon obscurely hints that he reigned many more, but does not fix the duration of his authority.

The dates of Ctesias and of the era may both be nearly true, for Cyrus acquired different kingdoms at several times. Herodotus and Ctesias say, he not only revolted from Astyages, but conquered Media in the first year of his reign, viz. in the 30th year before his death, corresponding

<sup>a</sup> Herod. l. i. 130.

<sup>b</sup> Herodotus, mentioning the conquest of Nineveh by the Medes under Cyaxares, (which he tells you he meant to describe more particularly in another work) has these decisive words; τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, ἐποχείριους ἐποίησαντο [scilicet

Medi] πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης. Thus we see part of Assyria Proper was given to the Babylonians, and we may conclude this part was that on the Tigris contiguous to the dominions of Nebuchadnezzar.

with



with the year before Christ 559. This date of the conquest is of very doubtful authority; for it appears by the tables, this year was the 1st of Neriglissar, king of Babylon; who, as we are informed by Berofus, made a strong alliance with Croesus of Lydia and other nations, to check the rising power of the Medes. His reign continued 4 years, during all which time he was at war with the king of Media; being the first beginner of that ruinous conflict, which, after a continuance of 21 years, ended in the destruction of the kingdom of Babylon. Now it is difficult to conceive that Cyrus conquered Media at this time; for, by the consent of many good historians, the Medes were victorious over the Persians till the decisive battle was fought at Pasargadæ<sup>a</sup>, a city of Persia Proper, very distant from Babylon, when the revolt of Harpagus turned the balance in favour of Cyrus. This account is inconsistent with the idea of the Babylonish war, which employed the united forces of Media and Persia. But yet it is not necessary to deny that Astyages might be deposed by Cyrus at this time, who, most probably, set up Darius the Mede, the son of Astyages, and received the title of king of Persia, either in partnership with his father Cambyfes, or in consequence of his death. Such depositions are not unfrequent in despotic countries, and very often have no immediate effect on public affairs. From this time, Cyrus might have great influence in Media; and the more so, as it is generally agreed he commanded the Median army in the war of Babylon: but whether Persia was still a dependant province, is a matter of further enquiry. Strabo indeed follows Herodotus and Ctesias, in supposing that Cyrus had conquered Media before he took Sardes: but this last event was certainly prior to the taking of Babylon; and we are informed by the prophet Daniel, that Darius the Mede at that time took the kingdom of Babylon.

Whom then are we to consider as Darius? Some have conceived it to be Cyrus under another name: but to support this opinion they are obliged to do violence to the version of Daniel, who is said to have prospered in the reign of Darius *and* in the reign of Cyrus the Persian. It may be alleged, that the Hebrew *and* may signify, *that is*, and then the identity

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, l. xv. p. 730. Ed. Paris. This is the more probable, as Cyrus founded a city, built a palace, and erected his monument, at Pasargadæ, which might have been an obscure

place before; and thus left ostensible monuments of his victory to after ages. Strabo calls this τὴν ὑστάτην μάχην, implying there were others before.



of their persons might be allowed : as Darius might be his appellative in Media, and Cyrus in Persia. But leaving this to abler grammarians, I trust more to the argument of the great Newton, that wherever Darius is introduced, the Medes are named before the Persians ; and as Daniel regulated the executive part of government by the laws of both nations jointly, it may be concluded Darius governed both. Cyrus too is only called the king of Persia, or simply the Persian, without the name of Media, whereas Darius is said to have been the son of Ahafucrus, of the *seed of the Medes*. This seems to imply a diversity of persons in the prophet Daniel ; and the book of Esther (most certainly written after Cyrus) corroborates that opinion, by always placing the names of the Persians before the Medes, wherever they are jointly mentioned ; for the former were superiour to the latter, when that history was written. From the settlement of Cyrus in the empire, the Persians took the lead ; before that time, the Medes were predominant : and it seems very clear from Daniel, that there was then a king of Media and Persia ; and why was Media inserted before Persia, if Cyrus was the person intended by the prophet ? The successors of Cyrus considered themselves as chief, and shewed a most rooted jealousy and hatred of the Medes so early as the reign of Cambyfes. This may be known from the last words of that monarch, in the 3d book of Herodotus ; and the frequent revolts of Media in after times strongly confirm this opinion. Allowing thus much to be probable, we may grant with Xenophon, that there was a king of Media at the taking of Babylon, and of consequence at that of Sardes : but as Cyrus had the title of king, and the command of the Median army, Herodotus and Ctesias might confound two different events ; viz. the war against Darius the Mede after the taking of Babylon, with the deposition of Astyages before the Lydian war.

Other arguments may be drawn from Isaiah, who describes the Medes as the leading nation against Babylon in ch. xiii. ver. 17. I confess, he afterwards says, “ Go up, O Elam : besiege, O Media,” in ch. xxi. ver. 2. and many may turn these words in favour of the contrary opinion, on a supposition that Elam means Persia ; and therefore the placing it first in Isaiah may imply that Persia took the lead at the siege of Babylon. But it should first be proved that Elam and Persia mean the same country ; which the sacred books, far from proving, strongly oppose. The prophet Daniel writes, that  
Shufhan



Shushan was the capital of Elam <sup>a</sup>; which city was never ascribed to Persia Proper. In after times, Elam was called Sufiana: but the vestiges of its ancient name were continued in that of Elymæi, a nation bordering on its northern confines <sup>b</sup>. It was a large district, contiguous to Persia Proper, but independent of it, and governed by a particular satrap, whom Xenophon calls king of Susa. This land of Elam was probably a distinct sovereignty in the 9th year of Nebuchadnezzar, for Jeremiah at that time foretells its subjection <sup>c</sup>. Ezekiel says, it was subdued about the 19th year of the same monarch; and we cannot date the loss of its independence more precisely, than the intermediate 10 years. It is enough to know it was a part of the Babylonian kingdom in the 3d of Belshazzar, as Daniel informs us. Now suppose Belshazzar to be the Ilvarodamus, or the Nabonadius of the era of Nabonassar, still Elam cannot signify Persia; for in either of those reigns, Persia must be considered as a province of Media, or an independent kingdom under Cyrus. To confirm it still further, Isaiah, in a prophecy levelled against Jerusalem, says, “Elam bare the quiver <sup>d</sup>.”

Now whether we apply these words to the Assyrian invasion of Judea, or the Babylonian, yet as Persia was not subject to either kingdom, so it could not be an associate with either in the war against that country; but the *Elamites* might accompany Nebuchadnezzar to the siege of Jerusalem, being then reduced under his power.

Why then, it may be asked, if Elam was a province of Babylonia, is it named before Media, as a principal actor against that city. This diffi-

<sup>a</sup> Ch. viii. ver. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Strabo, l. xi. p. 522, 524. Ed. Paris. These mountaineers were considered as robbers, and never were thoroughly subdued; but they might, in former times, be included in the kingdom of Elam, and consequently retain their name.

<sup>c</sup> Jeremiah, ch. xlix. ver. 34, 39. This is by implication; for the 1st of Zedekiah corresponds with the 9th of Nebuchadnezzar. So likewise in Ezekiel, ch. xxxii. ver. 24. the twelfth month of the 12th year answers to the 19th of the same king of Babylon. Having made this reference to Jeremiah, it may be necessary to mention, that the authors of the Ancient Universal History endeavour to prove that

Elam means Persia, because the Prophet says, “In the latter days, I will bring again the captivity of Elam, saith the Lord.” This they apply to Cyrus; and no one will oppose it. The conclusion, however, may not be just: for, as Cyrus made Shushan his principal abode, not only justice, but policy, would induce him to recall the Elamites from Babylon, without supposing Elam to be the same with his hereditary kingdom of Persia.

<sup>d</sup> Isaiah, ch. xxii. ver. 6. The title of this chapter in our version must be wrong, for Jewry was never invaded by the Persians. The title in the Geneva Bible refers this prophecy to the time of Nebuchadnezzar.



culty is solved by Xenophon, in the inimitable history of Abradatas and Panthea, the foundation of which may be true. This Abradatas was king of Susa, who, having been kindly treated by a former king of Babylon, (which must be Neriglissar) stood firm to his allegiance; but being neglected and ill used by the last king Nabonadius, meditated a revolt. At this time his wife Panthea was a prisoner in the camp of Cyrus, and being treated honourably, his gratitude led him to join with the Medes and Persians. His troops, it is said, were of great service; and as he was king or satrap of Susa, or Shushan, they must have been Elamites; and then Isaiah properly names that nation first, as they were the guides and conductors of the Medes.

Some have too rashly asserted, that Persia was called Elam by the sacred writers, until the reign of Cyrus. This is a mistake; for Ezekiel twice mentions the Persians; in one place, prophetically; but the completion of the prophecy was anterior to the reign of Cyrus. In the other instance, the Persians are simply mentioned as composing a part of the mercenary troops of Tyre<sup>a</sup> in his own time. If this objection be removed, and the former arguments stand unconfuted, there might be a king of Media, who succeeded Astyages, as Xenophon and the sacred Scriptures affirm; and Astyages still might be deposed by Cyrus, as Herodotus and Ctesias agree in that fact.

Many have denied the deposition of the Median king, supposing it would derogate from the character of Cyrus, as it is given us in the sacred Scriptures; but as the particulars of that history are little known, how shall we decide on the provocation to a revolt? Diodorus Siculus<sup>b</sup> and Aristotle join in censuring the Medes as cruel and effeminate tyrants; and Cyrus might justly concur in setting aside his relation, to deliver his own country from so dreadful a scourge. Till the contrary is proved, this supposition is equally admissible with any other; and the character of the king of Persia will not be severely censured.

Having endeavoured to clear away the obscurities in the beginning of the reign of Cyrus, there is no objection to granting, that Armenia was tributary to the Medes at this time; that Cyrus suppressed the defection

<sup>a</sup> Ezekiel, ch. xxxviii. ver. 5. and ch. 1604. Aristot. de Rep. p. 541. Ed. Paris. xxvii. ver. 10. 1654.

<sup>b</sup> Diod. Sic. p. 342. Ed. Rhodomanni.



in the first instance, and obliged them to assist in the war<sup>a</sup>. The progress of his arms may be truly described by Xenophon in the main; and the fate of the Babylonian commander seems to coincide with the last of Neriglissar's reign, and may allude to the death of that monarch.

At this period Xenophon fixes the revolt of the Hyrcanians to Cyrus; a nation, says he, bordering on Assyria, by which he means Babylonia<sup>b</sup>. Now there is but one country called Hyrcania, and that lies on the eastern coast of the Caspian sea; far distant from any part of Babylonia, or its dependencies, the whole kingdom of Media being interposed. Hutchinson in a short note seems to apprehend for once, that Xenophon may have been mistaken, but does not attempt to trace his mistake to the source<sup>c</sup>. I cannot but think these revolting Hyrcanii were the *Orcheni*, a nation mentioned by<sup>d</sup> Strabo and Pliny as subject to Babylonia. Their capital city was, as it appears, the Orchoë of Ptolemy, situated a little to the north of Teredon, above the Persian Gulf. From this situation it is clear they were on the borders of the kingdom, and consequently lay more open to foreign invasion, and were, by their distance from the capital, more liable to revolt.

In this light, the junction of the Orcheni with Cyrus may be easily credited; and Xenophon, from his defect of geographical knowledge in respect to Asia (but little known to the Greeks before Alexander the Great), might mistake them for Hyrcanii, a name very similar, and more familiar to a Grecian ear. I would, if possible, lay the fault on a transcriber, had not the author unfortunately said, that the Sacæ, a Scythian tribe, were contiguous to the Hyrcanii. This is true of the real Hyrcanii on the Caspian sea, but cannot be said of any country subject to Babylon. By this geographical error Xenophon disturbs his history; for he makes a Scythian tribe revolt from the Babylonians, because they wanted to enslave them; a grievance, which, from their local situation, could have no existence<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. iii.

<sup>b</sup> Ὑρκάνιοι ὁμοῦ μὲν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων εἰσίν. p. 73. Ed. Leuncl.

<sup>c</sup> Hutchinson however in his map places, without authority, both the Hyrcanii and Sacæ to the west of the Euphrates.

<sup>d</sup> Strabo, l. xvi. p. 739. Ed. Paris. Plin. l. vi. c. 26. p. 332. Ed. Harduin. alt.

<sup>e</sup> Let me add to this the authority of Justin, who says that Cyrus, when he had subdued Astyages, not only saved his life, but made him governor of *Hyrcania*. This implies that the Hyrcanians were, in Justin's opinion, subject to Media before the time of their supposed revolt from the Babylonians.



The war of Lydia is well described by Herodotus and Xenophon. The latter indeed suppresses every circumstance tending to shew, that Cyrus at first designed to put the king of Lydia to death : however, the relation of Herodotus has no mark of inconsistency ; and Sardes was so near the Grecian colonies in Asia Minor, that he might easily procure information. From hence to the siege of Babylon, little memorable is related of Cyrus. Herodotus says, that during his march to Babylon he wasted one entire summer in dividing the river Gyndes into small streams, out of revenge for the loss of one of his sacred horses, which was drowned in its passage. We may allow the fact, but deny the motive. Resentment and superstition are seldom the faults of a politic conqueror ; and Cyrus could not be so far misled, as to sacrifice his present advantage for the loss of a single horse. The truth is, that the river Gyndes flows from the mountains of Matiana, and falls into the Tigris ; consequently it lies between Persia and Babylon. From hence it may be inferred, that Cyrus had been raising fresh troops in his own kingdom ; and if the new levies were not all assembled, or sufficiently disciplined, he might be obliged to wait a season on the banks of the river. In this interval, two motives would concur to divide the great stream into small ones. Inactivity is fatal to an army, in the first place ; and lastly, the division of a river into rivulets is the only mode of improvement in those parts, where the soil, though naturally fertile, was destitute of water. All who have studied the descriptions of ancient or modern Persia know this to be true ; and Cyrus was justified in converting this interval of time to the benefit of his territories<sup>a</sup>. If it now be supposed, that one of the sacred horses had really been drowned in passing this river, the superstition of the Persian soldiers was such, that this ominous event would actuate them to work cheerfully, and Cyrus himself might urge it as a principal cause of his stay ; for the real springs of action are seldom known to the bulk of an army.

The siege of Babylon is related by Herodotus and Xenophon nearly in the same manner : viz. that he took it by draining the river, and introducing the troops through the dry channel by night. The time of the capture must have been in the year 538 before Christ, the 1st of Cyrus, in the era of Nabonassar. The sacred Scriptures indeed inform us, that Darius the Mede took the kingdom, and for some time resided at Babylon :

<sup>a</sup> Polyb. l. x. excerpt. 4. Voyage en Arabie, par C. Niebuhr, t. ii. p. 137.



for the appointment of Daniel to the presidency, the accusation of the prophet, and his miraculous deliverance from the den of lions, were all transacted in that city, and under the inspection of Darius himself. But these events might have happened in a short space of time; and, on the departure of the king of Media, Cyrus probably joined in a revolt with the citizens of Babylon; who, being just conquered, would submit to the Persian, rather than endure the Median, yoke. Now if the revolt was excited after one Thoth, and Cyrus chosen king before the next, the name of Darius must, from the very construction of the table, be omitted in the era of Nabonassar. The war might continue for 2 full years; but Cyrus being victorious in the 3d year of his reign over Babylon, released the captive Jews, and, as it should seem, the Egyptians also, in what Ezra the scribe properly calls his 1st year, as he was not till then established in the empire. His decree for the delivery of the Jews is dated from Media; so that we may rationally suppose he was settling his new made conquests at this time.

For the after transactions of his reign, Xenophon affords us but a very imperfect relation. He indeed gives him in marriage to the king of Media's daughter after this event, which implies that he reigned many more years over Babylon than the era of Nabonassar will allow; for his sons were grown up at his death. This however is so contradictory to all other historians, that we may safely deny the fact; and the more so, as Xenophon himself grants there were other accounts of his marriage. It is more easy to conceive that he now reduced all the country of Phœnicia; and by means of its fleets conquered Cyprus, a rich and fertile island; the possession of which secured the maritime parts of his empire on the Mediterranean. It is true, Herodotus affirms, that Amasis, king of Egypt, was the first who reduced the Cyprians, and obliged them to pay tribute. But the troops of Egypt might have been expelled by the superiour strength of Cyrus, aided by the numerous fleets of the Phœnicians; and both these relations may be received. An additional argument why Cyrus might wish to have Cyprus in his power, was the aid they had given to Croesus some years before. But allowing that the Persian conquered this island, it is not clear that he also at this time reduced the kingdom of Egypt.

This fact is not expressly mentioned nor alluded to by any writer, either sacred or profane, but Xenophon; and he briefly records it, with an expres-

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sion that implies he was not certain of its truth<sup>a</sup>. One only argument can be urged in its favour. Croesus was ably assisted by ten thousand Egyptians in his war against Cyrus; and the Persian king might be instigated from hence to attack Egypt, when his forces were collected, and his power established. But Amasis was not, most probably, an ally of Croesus; for these mercenary Egyptians might be the fugitives from the Babylonish invasion, who hired themselves out to foreign powers. The latter part of the reign of Amasis seems to have been prosperous, as we mentioned before; and this cannot be accounted for but by the return of those Egyptian captives, who were forcibly settled at Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, and released by Cyrus. It must be owned by every impartial reader, that this event could not have happened till after the reduction of Babylon; and then there was hardly time for the king of Persia to settle his extensive dominions from the Euxine to the Arabian Gulf. We have no reason to suppose he looked for other conquests, but left the reduction of Egypt to his son Cambyfes, who seems to have been the first who made a permanent conquest of that kingdom.

There are some who think that Babylon was twice taken by Cyrus; because Polyænus gives us two different relations<sup>b</sup> how that conqueror took the city. But the difference is so very small, that it seems plain, they are accounts of the same event, only borrowed from different authors. Polyænus, Val. Maximus, and other compilers of detached facts, are not always to be trusted as historians; for collecting their matter with a view either of surprising, or of giving instruction on a particular subject, they are sometimes inattentive to the true order of history. As for the death of Cyrus, although we know the time, the mode is equally uncertain with that of his birth. Herodotus<sup>c</sup> says, he died in battle against the Massagetæ; that he lost the day; and that his body was cut and mangled by order of Tomyris; but owns there were other accounts of his death. Diodorus Siculus (l. ii.) says, he was defeated and crucified by a queen of Scythia; so that Herodotus and Diodorus most probably adopted the current tradition of the northern nations. Ctesias, who was physician to Cyrus the

<sup>a</sup> Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡ εἰς Αἴγυπτον στρατεία ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ γινώσκειν, καὶ καταστρέφασθαι Αἴγυπτον. Plato with much probability says that Cyrus μέχρις Αἰγύπτου

ἦρξεν. Apud Menexen.

<sup>b</sup> Polyæn. Stratagem. l. vii. c. 6. 8.

<sup>c</sup> Herod. l. i.

younger,



younger, and afterwards to Artaxerxes Mnemon, relates it a little differently, and more honourably for Cyrus: viz. that he fought with the Derbices, and gained a complete victory, having slain their king; but, being wounded in the battle, died on the third day, having settled the succession to the crown. This account he most probably borrowed from the Persian historians, whom he is said to have consulted during his attendance on the court of Artaxerxes; and the relation might be so composed as to hide the disgrace of the founder of their monarchy. Photius, I know, would insinuate, that Ctesias formed his relation in this manner, only to contradict and censure Herodotus. The remark is invidious<sup>a</sup>. Herodotus, as a Grecian, might be a little biased against the Persians, though in general an impartial historian. Ctesias, having been well received by that nation, would be inclined to favour them when his eulogiums obscured not the glory of Greece; and if an account had been published of Cyrus's death more favourable to his reputation, he would probably have adopted it. Here then we have two rival authors, who agree in the main fact, and only differ in some particulars of the battle. Does not the one corroborate the other by all the rules of historical evidence? Whether Xenophon followed any tradition in his account of the death of Cyrus, or adapted it to his plan, we cannot say. His conversation with his friends is evidently a beautiful fiction; and why the rest should be true, we have no authority to affirm. Another objection is, that no account but this of Xenophon agrees with the holy Scriptures. But if it hath been allowed before, that Herodotus and Ctesias have antedated the conquest of Media, we may reconcile the sacred writings with the profane authors on the plan adopted by Sir Isaac Newton, which was just now mentioned. But, says Hutchinson, who can believe that Cyrus, at the age of 70, would undertake such an expedition? We may answer, why should he not? Xenophon grants, that he retained the vigour of his faculties, both in body and mind, to his death. The northern nations had conquered some of the finest provinces in Asia not long before, and Cyrus would think it true policy to secure his frontiers against their incursions. But then his body, says Herodotus, was seized by the Scythians; whereas, others affirm, he was buried at Pasargadae in the further extremity of the empire. But was it not possible for the Persians, one may

<sup>a</sup> See Photius on Ctesias, 72. passim.



answer, to purchase the remains of their beloved monarch? The wild nations of the north were ever fond of gold, and the Persians were by that time rich. The authors of the Universal History say further; why was not the kingdom ruined by that defeat; especially considering the bad qualities of Cambyfes his successor? But in return it may be said, could the fate of a large empire depend on one single army? Was the kingdom of France ruined by the battle of Pavia, when the king was made prisoner, and his army destroyed? Yet the enemies of France were comparatively more powerful than the Massagetæ, much better disciplined, and led by the most accomplished generals in Europe. As for the character of Cambyfes, it is granted he was profligate and cruel; but then he was brave, he was master of a vast empire, which had been reduced to order, and his military force was inured to discipline by the many wars in which they had been victorious. Another argument of Hutchinson's is, that Diodorus Siculus names Thucydides and Xenophon as the first historians, whose veracity may be relied on. Now the meaning of an author is best known by the general tenour of his work. It is true, that Diodorus adopts in a good measure Xenophon's Hellenics as a true history; but not, his Cyropædia. For though we have lost those parts of his work, which related the life of Cyrus; yet in his 2d and 13th books he says, that the Median empire was overturned by force of arms; and again in another part of the 2d book, that the Scythians crucified Cyrus, after having defeated his army. Now if the lost books of Diodorus had been preserved, it is hardly credible, that he would have differed from himself in these important particulars; so that it is pretty clear he followed other authorities. If this be allowed, how does the general affirmation of Xenophon's veracity prove the truth of the Cyropædia? May it not rather be supposed that Diodorus, following the opinions of Plato and Tully, concluded that the reader knew it was only a well-formed narrative, calculated for a philosophical purpose; and that his contradicting the facts in this work would be no impeachment of Xenophon's veracity, where he professedly wrote a true history. Diodorus either thought the Cyropædia true or false: if the former, why did he contradict the principal facts? if the latter, I know no mode of vindicating him from the charge of inconsistency, but what has been suggested before.

Let it not be supposed that I mean to depreciate the character of Xenophon, who, from the variety of his talents, and the excellence of his heart, stands foremost in the list of Grecian worthies. Though  
 ended



endued with all the refinements of Attic elegance, he resembled a Spartan in the simple austerity of his manners. He imbibed from Socrates the purest morality, and the depths of that sublime philosophy, which supported him under the calamity of unmerited exile. This philosophy he improved, by constant practice, under the dangers and difficulties of Asiatic wars: a rough school, but better adapted to form the mind to active virtue, than the porticoes of Athens, or the languor of academic groves. From hence he acquired that extent of useful knowledge, so artfully diffused over his works, that they always please more than their titles promise. His discourse on hunting is made subservient to the military science; his histories are beautifully tinged with morality and philosophy; and his discourse on the revenues of Athens, addressed to those who had banished him, is the only ancient work that instructs us in the important science of political arithmetic; so much enlarged by many eminent writers of our own country. A genius so formed might, without censure, attempt to rival Plato (who had drawn the picture of a perfect, but fictitious, republic), by delineating a perfect monarchy. But as this perfection must be partly ideal; so Xenophon, having chosen Cyrus as his best example, was compelled to omit some facts of his reign, to soften others, and to form a character incompatible with human nature in its present state. Such was the *Cyropædia*; a book so replete with instruction to mankind, that if it be not true history, no one can wish to have seen it in any other form. This attempt to explain the life of Cyrus has been longer than was intended; but the great names of Usher, Prideaux, and Hutchinson, were obstacles to our progress, which it was necessary to remove.

The last branch of sacred history which requires explanation, is that of the Jews, from the return under Cyrus, to the conclusion of these tables. This is contained chiefly in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and the apocryphal books of Esdras; which, not being immediately connected with the other period, nor continuing on the narrative in one uninterrupted chain, demand some attention. It might have been hoped, the Jewish historian, Josephus, would have filled up this chasm in the history of his own nation; but, unfortunately, by giving implicit faith to the old traditions of the Pharisees, he had imbibed even a superstitious reverence for the sacred books; and not only regards them, what they truly



are, as divine works, but seems, unnecessarily, not to allow any kings of Persia, but those who are mentioned by these authors. Hence, as might be expected, his whole narrative is a direct contradiction to the Greek historians, and the era of Nabonassar. To mark one instance, he makes that Sanballat the Horonite, who was contemporary with Nehemiah in the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, solicit Alexander the Great in favour of his nation during the siege of Tyre. Now 113 years are the interval of time between these two dates; and as Sanballat could not be less than 20 years old when he opposed Nehemiah in so active a manner, he must have been at least 133 at the siege of Tyre; but very probably more. The origin of this mistake was from hence: The last king of Persia, mentioned by Nehemiah, bears the name of Darius, which, as we shall see, must be Darius the Second, called Nothus; in whose reign he finished his book: but as the last king of Persia bore the same name, so Josephus passes over the intermediate reigns of Artaxerxes Mnemon, of Ochus, of Arogus or Arses; and makes Nothus and Darius Codomannus the same person. It may indeed be said, that the Sanballat of Josephus was not the same with him who is mentioned in Nehemiah; but the same fact is related of both, viz. that the daughter of each Sanballat was married to a grandson of the high priest of Jerusalem; whereupon the young man was expelled from the temple and city. This is scarcely a possible supposition, and therefore the Sanballat of Josephus is the same with that of Nehemiah; and the Jewish historian, by resting on oral tradition, has been guilty of an inexcusable deviation from the truth of history. Yet plain as this may appear (and, to make it still plainer, the reader is referred to the fuller explanation of Newton and Prideaux), many commentators, by endeavouring to reconcile the sacred authors with Josephus in this instance, have rendered the narrative obscure and unintelligible.

As it is solely the intention of this introductory part, to explain the chronological tables, a summary account of this period is all that shall be attempted. In the first place, let us advert to the state of Palestine before the return of the Jews. We have already seen that Esarhaddon, king of Assyria and Babylon, sent a mixed colony of various nations, under the conduct of the great and noble Asnapper, to re-people those lands, from which the ten tribes of Israel had been removed by Salmanassar. The fact



fact itself is distinctly related in the second book of Kings<sup>a</sup>; but the name of the king of Assyria is to be found in the fourth chapter of Ezra, with a list of nine nations, out of which the colonies were sent. The passage, however, implies that more nations were concerned in this emigration<sup>b</sup>; and the forementioned chapter of the second of Kings adds the Avites and Sepharvites to the number. The geographical situations of these nations are difficult to ascertain; but they are not a necessary part of our enquiry. As far as we can conjecture from those we are acquainted with, they were collected from parts of the empire very distant from each other. In consequence, the new settlers, though all were idolaters, worshipped their own local divinities, and had no religion in common. This diversity of worship was of short continuance; for the colonists being infested with lions (as the country had been abandoned, or nearly so, 47 years), thought to remedy the evil by worshipping the *god of the land*; meaning, probably, no more than the local or tutelar god of Samaria. On application to Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, a priest was sent to instruct them in the Jewish worship; who settled at *Bethel*. This circumstance deserves attention; for Bethel lying on the extreme confine of the land of Ephraim, and adjoining to Benjamin, often changed its masters. Abijah took it from Jeroboam<sup>c</sup>, and though it reverted to the king of Israel for some years, the Benjamites possessed it at the captivity; for the men of Bethel are joined with those of Ai, in the account of the return from Babylon, with the Jews. Whatever was the priest's motive for residing on the frontiers; whether from a dread of pollution by a residence amongst idolaters, or any other cause; yet, from this one circumstance, we may safely infer that the reformation in religion must have been very imperfect: and we need not be surprised to read, that the Samaritans considered the true God in a partial light, as only the God of Israel, and worshipped him jointly with Succoth-benoth, Nergal, and others. Yet, mistaken as they were, the worship of the God of Israel prepared them for a more enlarged system of theology, by forming a common bond of union in religion, in *one*

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings, ch. xvii. ver. 24—41.

<sup>b</sup> Ezra, ch. iv. ver. 10. after naming nine different nations, says, 'and the *rest* of the nations, whom the great and noble Asnapper brought over.' Some suppose this Asnapper to be Esarhaddon. Grotius takes it to mean

Salmanasar. It seems to me that he was conductor of the colony, under Esarhaddon's authority, who did not attend the expedition in person.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. ch. xiii. ver. 19.

point,



point, however different in the other objects of their devotion. Added to this, it seems clear, that the Samaritans received at *this* time the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses. Prideaux and others are of a different opinion: but can it be supposed that a Levite would be sent to introduce the Jewish religion into a country, and not carry with him the only books that could instruct his new proselytes? But if we suppose the missionary was not provided with a copy of the law in his captive state, yet, as he resided at Bethel, he might easily procure it from Judah or Benjamin, during the remainder of the reign of Manasseh, which lasted 31 years after his restoration to the throne; or still later, in the days of the good Josiah.

To strengthen this argument, let it be observed, that the Samaritans, from the first time of their conversion to Judaism, read no more than the five books of Moses in their public assemblies; and their descendants observe the same rule. Now though the Jews respected other books as of divine authority, yet they did not admit them as a part of the public worship till the days of Ezra, who formed our canon of the sacred Scriptures, by ordering the prophets to be read in the synagogues, as well as the historical parts. Now it is very clear that the restoration of the temple service by Ezra was long before the connexion formed between Sanballat, the governor of Samaria, and the grandson of the Jewish High Priest. It is then a very probable suggestion, that when Manasseh, as he is called by Josephus, fled to his father-in-law Sanballat, and built a temple on Mount Gerizim, to rival the worship of Jerusalem, he would have introduced the whole canon of the sacred Scriptures into the public service of the Church: but if he found the Pentateuch of Moses already received as the canon of the sacred Scriptures, the fear of attempting innovations might induce him to contract his plan, and submit to the rules established before his arrival. Another argument in favour of this opinion (and which seems to be equally strong) is, that the Samaritan sacred Scriptures are written in a different letter from the Chaldee, which last was introduced by Ezra; and in that very letter which Dr. Prideaux allows to be the ancient Hebrew alphabet. But this, says he, was a transcript from Ezra. Yet, is it not strange that the later Jews should transcribe the sacred books into the old character, for the use of the Babylonian colonists, who must have been better versed in the Chaldee character, as being that used in the city of Babylon? Besides, the improbability is much stronger, when



when we consider that the Chaldee letter is so much more expeditious and beautiful than that of the Samaritan Pentateuch, that, though the colonists might retain it from a superstitious veneration, when once established, they would scarcely have adopted it in preference to the other.

Dr. Prideaux uses, I own, one argument, which, if well founded, overturns the antiquity of the Samaritan books, viz. that in the Pentateuch, as we now have it, there are several passages, which must have been inserted after the death of Moses, to explain the history to after times. These, says the Doctor, were added by Ezra after the captivity; and as the Samaritan copy has the same passages, it is plain it was copied from Ezra's original. This opinion, however, concerning Ezra, is begging the question. The books of Moses might require some explanation long before the return from Babylon; and, as Sir Isaac Newton very properly observes, many of these additions in the books of Moses, Joshua, and Judges, were inserted before the 8th year of the reign of David; for it is said in Judges, ch. i. ver. 21. that "the Jebusites dwell in Jerusalem *unto this day*." Now they were driven out by David in the 8th year after the commencement of his reign; and consequently this must have been written during the reign of Saul, or very soon after. Why not by Samuel the prophet, who, after the coronation of Saul, had sufficient leisure to arrange the books of Moses, and add thereto the wars of the Lord? The time between Moses and Samuel was about 400 years; and, considering the idolatry to which the twelve tribes were inclined, the bulk of the people would not thoroughly understand their own legislator, in so long a space of time, without some explanatory notes. Let us take for example the reference made to the iron bed of Og, king of Bashan, which the author of this passage says was to be seen to *his time*<sup>a</sup>, and appeals to it as a proof of the Mosaic history. Such a relic as this might easily be preserved as low down as Samuel, for about 400 years; but scarcely to 990 years, which is the space between the death of Moses and the first coming of Ezra, in the 7th of Artaxerxes.

But there is one passage which Dr. Prideaux thinks decisive in favour of his opinion. It is in Genesis, ch. xxii. ver. 14. where, speaking of Abraham's offering up Isaac in the land of Moriah, Moses says, "And Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh: as it is said to this day, in the

<sup>a</sup> Deut. ch. iii. ver. 11.



mount of the Lord it shall be seen." Now, says the Doctor, mount Moriah was not called the Mount of the Lord till Solomon's temple was built upon it; and consequently these words must have been an addition after the time of Solomon. This however proves nothing; for the origin of the proverb is very uncertain. Reland goes so far as to deny that the *land of Moriah*, mentioned by Moses, is the same with the mount Moriah near Jerusalem<sup>a</sup>: but supposing them to be the same, the designation of the Almighty would stamp a particular sanctity on the place, which was confirmed by the name given by Abraham; and hence the saying might arise, and be inserted in the Pentateuch even before the division of the kingdoms. But granting what Dr. Prideaux says, that this passage was added posterior to Solomon, might it not be inserted in the reign of Jehoshaphat, who finished his father Ahab's reformation, by sending many learned Levites with copies of the Pentateuch throughout the land, to *explain* the law to the people. It may be objected, that, as the kingdoms were then divided, the Israelites would not have received any addition to the sacred books from the people of Judah. In answer to this, we are informed, that Jehoshaphat was at peace with Ahab, king of Israel, and that he visited him at Samaria. Now, though Ahab was a gross idolater, many of his people cleaved to the true God, and might receive instructions from the Levites of Judah.

The reign of Hezekiah offers another time for the correction of the Pentateuch. This pious prince collected the proverbs of Solomon, restored the temple service, and celebrated a passover, which was attended by many of the inhabitants of Ephraim, Manasseh, Issachar, and Zebulun; so that there had not been seen the like in Jerusalem since the days of Solomon. When the ceremony was finished, these Israelites broke down many of the idols in their own country; which proves not only that the religious impression was strong, but that the number of the reformed Israelites was great; and from hence it may be inferred they would receive such illustrations of the Pentateuch, as were admitted into the Jewish text. If this be granted, it is not then a necessary supposition that the additions to the books of Moses came from the hand of Ezra; nor, in consequence, that the Samaritan text was copied from Ezra's transcript, after the captivity. These colonists, then, had most probably the Pentateuch in the old ori-

<sup>a</sup> Relandi Palæst. t. ii. p. 853.



ginal character, and received the five books as sacred oracles ; but, having no priest to instruct them, they were not easily weaned from their old idolatry.

In this state they were when the author of the 2d book of Kings compiled his history ; and here let us leave them for the present, and return to the Jews. We read, in the sacred book of Daniel, that this nation was subdued by Nebuchadnezzar in the 3d of Jehoiakim ; and that the temple was burnt 20 years after. The land lay desolate for 50 years longer, when Cyrus, in the 3d year of his reign over Babylon, and his 1st over Media, issued out a decree, permitting the Jews to return, and rebuild the temple. The preamble to this decree is recited by Ezra in his 1st chapter ; and in the 6th it is given more particularly, and dated from Media <sup>a</sup>. This commission extended no further than to the re-building of the temple ; but the reparation of the city must be implied ; for how else could they subsist while the temple was repairing ? Zorobabel, descended from David, and Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, the High Priest by inheritance, were the leaders of this migration. The numbers who returned are given us in the 2d chapter of Ezra and the 7th of Nehemiah ; which last was extracted from the old records. These two accounts differ very little from each other in the names of the places, or in the items ; and the total is the same in both, viz. 42,360 Jews, and 7,337 bondservants.

By the munificence of Cyrus, the golden vessels carried off by Nebuchadnezzar, were restored ; and with these aids they arrived at Jerusalem. In the 7th month on the 1st day (viz. about the middle of September, in which month the great ceremony of expiation was to be performed) they erected anew the altar of God, and celebrated the several feasts ; but could do no more that year. The purchase of cedar trees from Tyre and Sidon, the preparation for the building, and the necessary repairs of the ruined city to accommodate the people, took up some time. In the 2d year and 2d month the foundations of the temple itself were laid, when a religious feast was celebrated, at which all the heads of the nation and the church were assembled <sup>b</sup>. By this time the news of their growing prosperity was widely diffused ; and the Samaritan colonists,

<sup>a</sup> The roll was found at Achmetha, אַחְמֶתָה, margin of our Bibles, is of little consequence : in the *palace*, in the province of the Medes. the word palace applies only to Ecbatana. Whether Achmetha means a chest, as in the

<sup>b</sup> Ezra, ch. iii.



finding the religion, they had adopted, restored in Jerufalem, wished to affist in the building; “for,” faid they, “we feek your God as ye do, and we do facrifice to him fince the days of Efarhaddon king of Affur, which brought us up hither.” From hence it is plain what king it was who introduced the colony into Samaria, and that the fame king fent the prieft, who was to teach them the religion of the Ifraelites. This colony had now been fettled about 136 years, and muft have increafed much by the common courfe of nature; and confequently fuch an alliance feemed to enfure the fafety of the infant ftate of Jerufalem. Their plea, however, was certainly inadmittible, for two reafons: firft, while they praftifed idolatry in any degree, they could not be confidered as profelytes to the true religion; and fecondly, the grant of Cyrus was limited exprefly to the native Jews. On this foundation the petition was rejected by Zorobabel and Jeshua; and hereupon the Samaritans, fired with rage and jealousy, tried by underhand means to obftruft the operation of that decree which they could not get revoked. They fucceeded in this malignant defign but too well during the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyfes; and even to the 2d of Darius Hyftafpes; viz. about 15 years. The means they ufed were, corrupting the governours of the neighbouring provinces, to prevent the importation of timber, and fome other materials, which the land of Judah did not fupply: for I cannot find they made as yet any open application to the court of Perfia. The book of Ezra, I confeff, mentions two applications to prevent the building of the *walls*<sup>a</sup>: but this feems to be an anticipation of what happened afterwards; for the Jews did not attempt to fortify the city before the temple was reftored. Thefe then fhall be mentioned in their place. The continued oppofition abated the fervour of the Jews, who being fatisfied with re-building the city, neglected the feat of divine worfhip. Haggai, the prophet, was fent to rouse them from their lethargy in the 6th month of the 2d of Darius; and in the 8th month, his pathetic remonftrances were feconded by the powerful energy of Zechariah. Their united efforts encouraged Zorobabel and Jeshua to renew the building. They were quickly oppofed by Tatnai, the Perfian governour to the weft of Euphrates, and Shethar-boznai, who feems to have been a deputy. The Jews hereupon fent a letter to Darius, vindi-

<sup>a</sup> Ezra, ch. iv. Sir Ifaac Newton and the author of the Critical Enquiries, agree with this opinion.



cating themselves from their enemies' charge. As Darius was a prince of abilities and generosity, he received the letter favourably, and confirmed the decree of Cyrus, in the fullest manner; giving orders to Tatnai, and the other governours, not to molest the Jews, but to supply them with whatever they wanted, and threatening them with death in case of disobedience. This 2d grant, however, says nothing of fortifying the city: but the Jews, being thus encouraged, set more vigorously to work, and the house of God was finished, as expressed in the tables, in the 70th year from its destruction, corresponding with the 6th of Darius. The body of the temple being finished, the out-buildings proceeded more leisurely; but even these seem to have been completed in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Zorobabel and Jeshua were still in office when the temple was finished; but after their deaths, the Jews probably extended the grant further than prudence could warrant, considering the number of the enemies which surrounded them, and began to re-build the walls of the city.

Jerusalem was a place of great strength by situation, and, when completely fortified, was almost impregnable. It was too in the direct road for Egypt, and consequently a city of great importance in case that country revolted from Persia. This event did actually come to pass in the last year of Darius; for the 1st of Xerxes was spent in reducing Egypt. This Xerxes seems to be the Ahasuerus mentioned by Ezra, ch. iv. ver. 6. to whom the Samaritans addressed their accusation against the Jews, in the *beginning of his reign*. The object of the complaint, it is pretty clear, was, that the Jews were re-building their walls; for it is immediately connected with one of the same nature, made in the following reign. Now all large empires are naturally jealous of the distant provinces. Xerxes had particular reasons for being so in respect to Judea; for had Jerusalem been fortified and joined in the revolt with Egypt, it would have barred all access to that country for a long time. For this reason, it is most likely, Xerxes prevented the reparation of the walls; and the more so, as that permission was not expressed in the grant of his father Darius. There is no more known of the Jews in this reign, but that Josephus says, a body of their troops attended Xerxes in his grand expedition against Greece. A fact, so probable in itself, admits of no controversy; but commentators have been found to dispute the point<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> That the Jews were a province of Persia is plain, and consequently were required to send their quota of troops to the general rendezvous. Herodotus mentions the Syrians of Palestine,  
M 2



After Xerxes' death, the Samaritans (now become inveterate enemies to the Jews) applied to Artaxerxes Longimanus, son of Xerxes (in the beginning of his reign, most probably), to forbid them fortifying their city. This application was a very solemn address to the king of Persia, from all the nations which composed the colony of Samaria, convened in general assembly. It was written in the Aramean or Syriac language, but accompanied with a targum or version, and doubtless into the Persian; for our translation of this passage does not seem to convey the sense of the original, so clearly as the Septuagint<sup>a</sup>. This letter being a general act, they were obliged to authenticate it by sending the original, with the signatures, and written in that language which was best understood by all the colonists: but as this was not the court language, a version was annexed. The purport of the letter was, to inform the king that the Jews had been erecting walls round the city, and to caution him against permitting it; as they would, if once fortified, refuse to pay tribute, toll, or custom to the Persians, as they had done in former times; for which offence the city had been destroyed. The application was artfully timed to work on the fears of Artaxerxes; for Egypt had just then revolted under Inarus. The advice was favourably received; and the answer was addressed to the Samaritans, who were commissioned to put a stop to the repair of the walls of Jerusalem, because it had been formerly a rebellious city, and as there had been "mighty kings over Jerusalem, which had ruled over all countries beyond the river (meaning to the west of Euphrates), and toll, tribute, and custom had been paid unto them<sup>b</sup>." We see from hence the memory of the power of David and Solomon was preserved in the old records of the East for above 500 years<sup>c</sup>. The Jews were accordingly stopped, and the new reparations of the walls and gates destroyed *by force* and by *power*.

Providence, however, now silently formed a stronger interest for the

Palestine, and most probably means, or includes, the Jews. Josephus quotes Chærilus, a poet, for his authority [contra Apionem p. 1346], where they are called Solymi. Bochart's reasons for supposing the words mean the Solymi of Pisidia may be found in *Geogr. Sac.* pars alt. l. i. c. 6. These Solymi, however, spoke the Phœnician language, and the name might be easily applied to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

<sup>a</sup> Ezra ch. iv. ver. 7. ἔγραψεν ὁ φορολόγος γρα-

φὴν Συρίῃ καὶ ἡρμηνευμένην. Such is the version of the LXX. a book always to be consulted, but not implicitly adopted, as Jackson the chronologist, and others have done.

<sup>b</sup> Ezra, ch. iv. ver. 19, 20.

<sup>c</sup> To this we may add the victories of Jeroboam II. king of Israel, who began his reign 151 years after the death of Solomon; for though he did not reign over Jerusalem, he was of the same nation.

Jews



Jews in the court of Persia ; for I place the history of Esther in this reign. The feast, mentioned in the first chapter of that book, was in the 3d year of Artaxerxes, and at Shushan, the palace ; consequently in the winter ; for Susa, or Shushan, being a hot situation, was chosen for the winter residence of the royal family. Having now conquered all his enemies, and being quiet possessor of 127 provinces, from India even to Ethiopia, he convened all the power of Persia and Media, and feasted them for 180 days ; that is about 6 months. After this, a seven days feast was given to all the people ; on the last day of which, the refusal of Vashti, the queen, to appear amongst the princes, was the cause of her immediate divorce. This must have happened at the end of the 3d year of Artaxerxes, in the era of Nabonassar, or the beginning of the 4th ; and either way the narrative is consistent. Possibly, indeed, this author dated from the accession to the throne, viz. from the summer solstice ; and then his 3d year may be extended to the middle of the 4th year in the tables. This supposition, however, is unnecessary ; for the sacred Scriptures *only* say, the feast *began* in his 3d year, but say nothing of its conclusion.

About this time Mordecai, the 4th in descent from Kish, a Benjamite, who seems to have been carried captive, together with Jehoniah, king of Judah, to Babylon, in the year before Christ 597, held a place in the palace of Shushan. He had brought up his uncle Abihail's daughter, named Hadassah, who was left an orphan, and by his interest introduced her into the palace, amongst the beauties who were to supply the place of the rejected Vashti. As one year's purification was required, we must place the election of Hadassah in the 5th year of Artaxerxes. She was received, and took the Persian name of Esther, the signification of which is unknown ; but by the strong injunction of Mordecai, who had been her patron and protector, concealed her family, and even her nation, from Artaxerxes<sup>a</sup>.

In the 7th year, in the month of March or April, the king granted a most ample commission to Ezra, a learned and most able scribe of the family of Seraiah, the High Priest, to restore the civil polity of the Jews. This grant is fully recited in the 7th chapter of Ezra. It enables them to appoint their own magistrates, and exempts all those who ministered in

<sup>a</sup> Esther, ch. ii. ver. 20.



the temple from toll, tribute, or custom. The liberal presents which accompanied this grant, shew the Jews were in high favour, and enabled them, as it should seem, to finish the out-buildings of the temple. The king's motive for distinguishing that nation at this time, may be guessed at with some probability. Egypt being reduced, he no longer dreaded the Jews revolting, but might be desirous of attaching them to him by the gift of a kind of independence; though the former inhibition of rebuilding their walls still continued. Dr. Prideaux ascribes this to the influence of Esther; but she was not crowned queen till the 10th month of this year, whereas the grant passed in the 1st month; and, what is more, she did not discover her family or nation for some time after. This grant, then, seems to be owing to good policy in Artaxerxes, and not to the influence of the queen; though we shall find she exerted herself afterwards, in favour of her people, on a most important occasion. Ezra set out from the court of Artaxerxes, accompanied by 1,706 males; but the whole number must have been at least double <sup>a</sup>. On the 1st day of the 5th month, viz. July, he arrived at Jerusalem; being exactly 4 months on his journey. Having reformed the whole state according to the royal decree, he delivered up the treasure to proper officers, and obliged his countrymen to put away those wives who were not of their race, nor of the same religion; and here the book of Ezra concludes.

While the Jewish state thus increased in power, and was to all appearance in full security, another event happened, which, by its consequences, strengthened their interest. Mordecai the Jew, who sat in the king's gate at Shushan, discovered a dangerous conspiracy against the life of Artaxerxes, formed by Bigthan and Teresh, the royal chamberlains. This discovery was first revealed to Esther, and from her to the king; but, though the offenders were punished, and Mordecai's loyalty recorded in the public registers, he was no more thought of at that season. Soon after, Artaxerxes raised Haman the Agagite, to be prime minister with full power. This man was descended from those Amalekites, who fled from the hand of Saul; and consequently bore a violent and hereditary antipathy to all the Jews. His disgust was further heightened by the behaviour of Mordecai, who refused to bow to him as he passed, from some motive not explained in the history of Esther. Haman's anger being thus raised, he determined

<sup>a</sup> Ezra, ch. viii.



not only to ruin Mordecai, but to extirpate the whole nation, if possible; and satisfy at once his particular revenge and his general enmity. To effect this point, he proceeded by divination, or lots, in the 1st month, Nisan, or about March, in the 12th year of Artaxerxes<sup>a</sup>; and eager as he was in prosecuting his cruel intentions, yet he submitted to the decision of the lots, which fixed the 12th month, or Adar, for the execution of his scheme. Thus the Jews, who were threatened with destruction from a quarter they least expected, received a providential reprieve from the superstition of Haman. However, he immediately mentioned the business to Artaxerxes, and laid his accusation against the whole nation of the Jews, as having laws of their own, and not obeying the king's laws<sup>b</sup>. This representation, though false, was artfully contrived to irritate Artaxerxes, who gave full powers to his favourite to do what best pleased him with the Jewish nation; confirming it by the gift of his ring or seal. This was the same as a blank commission; which Haman filled up, with directions to the governors of every province, in every language, to slay every Jew, not respecting sex or age, on the 13th of Adar. It is pretty clear the extent of this cruel commission was not shewn to Artaxerxes; but he must know that it was to punish the Jews, and it undoubtedly proves that he was yet ignorant of the queen's family and nation; and consequently that the liberal grant, in the 7th year of his reign, was not derived from his affection for Esther. It was dated the 13th day of Nisan; so that no time was lost in expediting the orders. They were intended to have been kept secret; but Mordecai, having just suspicions of Haman, discovered their purport, which he disclosed to Esther. The subsequent events are clearly related in the history; for the queen, having fasted a due time, and being favourably received by Artaxerxes, made her request that the king and Haman would attend her banquet. It was providential for the Jews, that the very evening of the first banquet, Artaxerxes had the records of the empire read to him, and found an account how Mordecai, the Jew, had discovered the conspiracy of the two chamberlains; which must necessarily excite an immediate emotion of gratitude. The public honours paid to Mordecai the next morning displayed to the whole city how the monarch's favours were bestowed; and this gave the queen the more courage to reveal Haman's intended massacre, and to avow

<sup>a</sup> Esther, ch. iii. ver. 7.

<sup>b</sup> Esther, ch. iii. ver. 8.

openly



openly her family and nation ; neither of which seems to have been known to the king till that day. The consequence was the death of Haman, and the advancement of Mordecai to his offices in the court of Persia. The decree, however, was still in force, and could not be repealed, from an absurdity in the constitution of the Persians and Medes ; of which none but despotic empires can furnish an example. The effect of the decree was, however, counteracted, by permitting the Jews to defend themselves, and recommending them to the governours ; so that the designed extirpation of this people in the 12th month, brought about the destruction of their enemies. Thus ends the history of Esther ; which forms a link in the chain of facts between the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

From the 12th year of Artaxerxes to the 20th, the Scriptures are silent ; but the Greek historians fill up this interval, by shewing that the empire of Persia had suffered greatly by the victories of Cimon the Athenian, who had delivered the coasts of Asia Minor from the Persian dominion, and had extended his conquests to Cyprus ; which island he had very nearly subdued, when death put an end to his career. That these events affected the politics of the court of Artaxerxes, is very probable : for though the Athenians abandoned both Egypt and Cyprus in his 16th year, the dread of their power might still continue ; and the more so, as the states of Sparta and Athens formed a truce for 30 years, which left the Persians open to the invasion of either nation, whose restless ambition they had so lately experienced. This truce was formed about the middle of the year before Christ 446, viz. the 19th of Artaxerxes. A little before this time, in the month Nisan, Nehemiah, a Jew, was cup-bearer to the king of Persia ; an office of great honour in the court. This Nehemiah received intelligence from some of his countrymen, that the remnant of the Jews in Jerusalem were in great affliction ; “ for the wall was broken down, and the gates burnt with fire,” ch. i. ver. 3. This news struck him with the deepest grief ; which must have arisen from some calamity that had happened to the Jews not long before. It may indeed justly be thought that the Samaritan colony, having received a commission, before mentioned, to destroy the walls of Jerusalem, which was not yet expired, had, under colour of that authority, repeatedly invaded the city ; overturning the new reparations, and burning the timbers intended for the gates. Whether this was the case or not ; it is clear, that



that the grief of Nehemiah was derived from some recent calamity ; and Hanani, and the other Jews he mentions, seem to have been deputed to beg his assistance, as from the nature of his office he had easy access to the king. As no mention is made of Mordecai, he was probably dead before this year ; but the influence of Nehemiah seems to have been sufficient for the accomplishment of his design. The king perceived the sorrow of his cup-bearer when he was upon duty ; and enquiring into the cause, was answered, that the desolation of Jerusalem was the source of his affliction. This was in the private apartment of the palace ; for it is expressly said, *the queen also sitting by him*<sup>a</sup>. So concise an historian as Nehemiah would not have mentioned this circumstance, had not the queen's presence been one efficient cause of the king's granting his request. This queen, then, could be no other than Esther, who was bound by her duty to her country to rescue it from the ravages it was exposed to in its then defenceless state. Nehemiah had a grant of whatever he asked, and was appointed Tirshatha, or governour, with permission to rebuild the palace for himself, and to fortify the city. This grant was further strengthened by letters to the governours beyond the Euphrates, and by an escort of troops. This display of the king's favour soon reached Samaria, where Sanballat the Horonite was governour ; and this is the first mention of his name. Sanballat joined with Tobiah the Ammonite against the Jews ; and the threatened opposition seems to have determined Nehemiah to enter Jerusalem privately, and examine the state of the city, with some few confidential friends. The examination was made by night three several times ; which extreme caution of the governour shews the power of the surrounding enemies. After three days he opened his commission to the rulers, the nobles, the priests, and the people, from whom it had hitherto been concealed ; and finding the inhabitants strong enough to undertake the work, he exhorted them to begin the repairs of the walls with all possible expedition. The people seconded his endeavours : different parts were assigned to forty-four communities, or heads of families ; and the wall was soon raised so high, as to serve in some degree as a defence. This important business being nearly settled, Nehemiah seems to have returned to Persia, according to the promise given to Artaxerxes. He came back, however, to Jerusalem in a short time, to

<sup>a</sup> Nehemiah, ch. ii. ver. 6.



oppose the enemies of the Jews, who obstructed the repairs of the wall. The military incursions of Sanballat and Tobiah, with the Arabians, Ammonites, and Ashdodites, harassed the Jews so cruelly, that half of the people were obliged to keep guard in arms, while the others were employed in the building. As the city was large, and not yet well peopled, the repairs (every obstruction considered) must have been a work of long time. Josephus says, they were continued for 2 years and 4 months; the gates were set up in 52 days, and finished on the 25th of Elul, viz. about the 10th of our September. If this account be just, they must have been begun in May, in the year A. Ch. 443. The city being now completely fortified, the first object of Nehemiah was to relieve the people from usurers, who had illegally oppressed their brethren. At the same time also, he reformed the ecclesiastical state; rejecting some of the priesthood, who had failed in proving their genealogies. Ezra the scribe was then ordered to read the law of Moses publicly; which, by long disuse, was not quite intelligible to the bulk of the people, who had for many years spoken in another dialect, and written in the Chaldee character. Added to this, the ablest scribes of the tribe of Levi were appointed to explain every paragraph, as it was read to them. The Feast of Tabernacles fixes the time of this event; for it was solemnized about the last day of our September; and it is said that Ezra was reading the law during the seven days of the festival. This was continued to the 24th day of the 7th month, or Tifri, about the 10th of our October, and was succeeded by a solemn fast and covenant, to observe the words of their long neglected law; which was sealed by the heads of the Levites and the people. After this, Nehemiah, in his 12th chapter, quotes from the old records the priests who returned with Zorobabel; whom Sir Isaac Newton supposes to be the same with those who sealed<sup>a</sup>. The contrary seems to be evident from the text; and the similarity of names is no proof. It is enough to say that Zorobabel is named as the first who returned from Babylon; but that Nehemiah, the Tirshatha, is the first who sealed the covenant. He governed Judea 12 years, and then visited Persia. During his absence, which was not long, probably about a year<sup>b</sup>, Eliashib, the High Priest, now grown old, had suffered various abuses to insinuate themselves into the Jewish church and state. He even made

<sup>a</sup> Newton's Chronol. 358—9.

<sup>b</sup> Nehemiah, ch. xiii. ver. 6.



an alliance with Tobiah the Ammonite, and prepared him a chamber in the temple against the law. What affected Nehemiah still more, one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib, High Priest, whom Josephus calls Manasses, had married a daughter of Sanballat the Horonite, and was banished the country<sup>a</sup>. This is the last fact mentioned by Nehemiah, who, as we may collect from his writings, lived to the reign of Darius Nothus; but the duration of his government is not ascertained. Thus far however is certain, that the flight of Manasses to Sanballat contributed greatly to establish the religion of Moses amongst the colonists of Samaria, as he was probably the founder of the temple on mount Gerizim. This event is related by Josephus, but placed wrong, as it should seem, in point of time; for either Sanballat was not the projector, or it was not founded in the time of Alexander the Great.

We may now proceed to another, but necessary part of this history, viz. the succession of High Priests during this period. We have their genealogy in the 12th chapter of Nehemiah, as far as Jaddua, the 6th from Jeshua. We know from the 2d book of Kings, ch. xxv. that Seraiah the High Priest was slain at Riblah, when Jerusalem was taken, and that Jozadak his son was carried to Babylon, where he died. Jeshua was High Priest at the return from Babylon, and so continued until the 6th of Darius. In the time of Nehemiah, Eliashib enjoyed that high office, so that he certainly lived beyond the 32d year of Artaxerxes. These are all the scriptural lights we have to guide our search. The principal difficulty is, was Jaddua actually High Priest when Nehemiah wrote his history; or was this an addition to his book, in the days of Simon the Just, whom the Jews suppose to have finished the canon of the sacred Scriptures? The words seem to imply that he was High Priest, when that passage was written; but there are insuperable difficulties in adjusting his age to that of Nehemiah. Josephus confuses the history still more, by making him contemporary with Alexander the Great; while other Jewish Chronicles place Simon the Just, High Priest, in the reign of that conqueror, though the 3d in succession from Jaddua, and by some computations the 4th. The authors of the Universal History and Dr. Prideaux agree in following Josephus; though, to reconcile it with chronology, the former gives an average of 35 years 10 months to each High Priest, and the latter 39 years 2 months, which is very

<sup>a</sup> Nehemiah, last ch. ver. 28.



improbable. Funccius gives in all 64 years to Jeshua, and his computation is very nearly 35 years, on an average, to each of the 6 pontiffs. Sir Isaac Newton, disregarding these tables, arranges them by the course of nature; but he is not very fortunate in his arrangement. Jaddua, says he, might be 30 or 40 years old in the 19th year of Artaxerxes Mnemon, and he might be High Priest before the death of Nehemiah, and before the end of the reign of Darius Nothus<sup>a</sup>. This, however, is scarcely possible; for it appears from the era of Nabonassar, that were he 40 at that time, (which is the most favourable supposition) he must have been scarcely 22 in the very last year of Darius; and we have no reason to suppose Nehemiah lived even to the end of that reign, as it is the last king of Persia mentioned in his history. It must be confessed, we are not certain of the age when a man might undertake the office of chief pontiff; but the lowest Levite could not officiate till he was 20 years old; and we cannot suppose the High Priest was exclusively indulged with the exercise of the first employment in the church at an earlier age<sup>b</sup>.

This calculation of Newton then seems to be wrong; and we must endeavour to find some other, more agreeable to the sacred Scriptures. Dr. Prideaux professes to follow the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, or *Paschale*, as it is often called. The author of this compilation from different authors is not known, but it is accurately described in Cave's *Historia Literaria*, to which the reader is referred for information. Having examined Du Fresne's last edition of this work, I find three different computations; see p. 146. 188. 208: but none of them agrees with Prideaux. The first of these seems to be most agreeable to the course of nature, and with some little correction accords with the sacred Scriptures, and some of the old Jewish chronicles, but not with Josephus. The first named is Jeshua, who governed 32 years, and, as it is said, to the 8th of Darius: but 32 years will reach to the 18th year, and not the 8th; so that probably a single decade is wanting in the year of the reign, which being expressed by an iota, might be easily obliterated. The 2d is called Esdras, who governed to the 16th of Xerxes, that is, 34 years. The name in another list is Joiakim, which is right; but the latter Jews seem to have taken him for Ezra the scribe. The next is Eliashib, who governed 40 years, down

<sup>a</sup> Newton's *Chronol.* p. 364, 365.

<sup>b</sup> "The Levites, who did the work for the service of the Lord, from the age of 20 years

and upwards." 1 Chr. ch. xxiii. ver. 24, See also 2 Chr. ch. xxxi. ver. 17.



to the 35th of Artaxerxes, about 2 years after the return of Nehemiah. This partly proves, that in the years of Jeshua before mentioned, we ought to read the 18th of Darius, or Eliashib must have been dead 7 years before Nehemiah returned to Jerusalem; which is contrary to scriptural history. The next is Jodae, the Joiada of the sacred Scriptures, and the Judas of Josephus, to whom 16 years are given, viz. to the 10th of Darius. The 5th is Jannæus, who governed 32 years, the Jonathan or Johanan of the sacred Scriptures, and called John by Josephus. Of this High Priest the last mentioned historian relates<sup>a</sup>, that Bagoses, the general of one of the Artaxerxes, had promised the pontificate to the High Priest's own brother, Jesus; on which a quarrel arising, Jesus was slain in the temple. For this crime, Bagoses, coming to Jerusalem, imposed a heavy fine on the Jews, which distressed them for 7 years. The doubt is, to which of the Artaxerxes this story can belong. The words of the historian are, *Βαγώσης ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ λαοῦ Ἀρταξέρξου*.

The word *λαοῦ*, for an *army*, is objected to, as being a Hebraism; but it is such an one as Josephus being a Jew (though a good Greek writer) might inadvertently fall into. Vossius, however, corrects it to *τοῦ ἄλλου Ἀρταξέρξου*, meaning Artaxerxes the Second, or Mnemon. To this I have little objection, for the principal part of this pontificate corresponds with that reign. Scaliger, however, for *λαοῦ* reads *Ἀχου*, which he might adopt, by finding it in some incorrect manuscript; for the word has no meaning. Mr. Moyle<sup>b</sup> corrects it to *Ὠχου*, and transfers the murder to the reign of Ochus. But why should chronology be disturbed, only to support a reading in a manuscript that has no sense, when the original text gives a good one? Whether we adopt the original word *λαοῦ*, or the correction of Vossius, it agrees with the Chronicon Paschale, and we need not look further; but I rather incline to the old reading, as Josephus seems to have omitted the whole history of Artaxerxes the Second. It need only be noted, that this event must have happened after the 10th year of his pontificate; for Artaxerxes did not mount the throne till that year.

The 6th in the catalogue is Jaddua, who ruled 20 years, viz. from the 24th of Artaxerxes to the 43d, inclusively. None of this portion falls in the time of Nehemiah; so that when Jaddua is mentioned in

<sup>a</sup> Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. ii. c. 7.

<sup>b</sup> See the third letter of Mr. Moyle to Dr. Prideaux.

that



that history, we must either conclude, that it is only as the next heir to the priesthood, or that the passage was added afterwards. I rather incline to the latter opinion, and think that Nehemiah wrote the 12th chapter to the end of the 10th verse himself, but that the names of Jonathan and Jaddua were additions to the text, at least the latter. The same observation may be applied to the 22d verse, which was probably altogether, or at least in part, an insertion; for Nehemiah, having named those priests who returned with Jeshua, gives a catalogue of the next generation of priests under Joiakim to the 21st verse. He then names in the 24th, 25th, and 26th verses the priests and Levites of his own time in the pontificate of Eliashib (many of whom had officiated under Joiakim), who assisted at the dedication of the walls. This part of the history is regularly deduced; but some pious Jew wishing to inform future times that the genealogies of the Levites were well preserved, even after the time of Nehemiah, might add the other names, to shew that they were recorded to the days of Johanan; viz. to the reign of Darius, and even to the days of Jaddua. However, to avoid disputes, it may be allowed, that as Nehemiah might live to see the pontificate of Johanan, which commenced but 33 years after his first arrival as governour, the name of Jaddua may be the only addition to the text; but it seems almost impossible to make Jaddua contemporary with Nehemiah, or, like Josephus, to bring him down to the days of Alexander the Great. The 7th High Priest is Onias, who governed 21 years; succeeded by Eleazar, who held it for 15 years. Under this pontiff Alexander took the cities of Tyre and Gaza; and consequently what Josephus relates<sup>a</sup> of his going to take Jerusalem, his conference with the High Priest, who met him in his pontificalia, and the favours he bestowed upon the Jews, must be applied to Eleazar, and not Jaddua. The whole story is too long to recite; but it is adopted by Usher and Prideaux, with all its circumstances, though many are undoubtedly fabulous, and the texture of the whole has the air of a Jewish romance of later times. Mr. Moyle, on this account, rejects it entirely<sup>b</sup>; but it is very probable there was some foundation for it, as the Jews might with good reason represent to the

<sup>a</sup> Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. ii. c. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Moyle's Letters to Prideaux, 4th and 6th, full of sound learning and clear argument,

though, as I have declared in the text, some part of the relation may be true.



conqueror their singular constitution ; which the High Priest, being at the head of the civil as well as ecclesiastical state, might do in person. As the narrative is told by Josephus, it labours under many difficulties both geographical and historical ; and all that need be said is, that, whatever part is true, must be placed in the year before Christ 332, being the 8th of Eleazar's pontificate. According to this scheme, Simon the Just succeeded Eleazar, entering upon the office 2 years before the death of Alexander ; which agrees with the old tradition of the Jews, that these great men were contemporary. I do not pretend to have authenticated this series as to the times ; but if it be consonant to the sacred Scriptures, we need not reject it till some better is produced.

On this subject I beg leave to mention one difficulty that has been often started ; whether the Johanan, called the grandson of Eliashib in the 12th chapter of Nehemiah, be the same with that Johanan called the son of Eliashib, by Ezra ch. x. ver. 6. One might easily solve this knot, by saying that Johanan might be a younger son of Eliashib, and the *brother* of Joiada, who succeeded Eliashib in the pontificate, which is the more natural supposition : but as Usher and Newton are of another opinion, let us suppose them the same person, and let the word *son* mean a descendant, as it evidently does in this very chapter and the following verse<sup>a</sup>.

Now the pontificate of Johanan, or Jonathan, or Jannæus, or John, (for he has all these names in different authors) begins, according to this scheme, in the year 413 before Christ, just 45 years after the 7th of Artaxerxes ; so supposing him but 55 when he succeeded to the high priesthood, he might be old enough, considering his high rank, to have a chamber in the temple appropriated to himself, and yet govern 32 years, without being reckoned a very uncommon instance of longevity. This may suffice to shew that my calculation, drawn from the Chron. Paschale, will be consonant to Usher and Newton ; but, if we adopt that of Prideaux, the distance of time between Johanan's assuming the high priesthood, and the 7th of Artaxerxes, is above 80 years, and consequently out of the bounds of credibility ; and from hence Prideaux denies, and with reason, the identity of the two Johanans. It is sufficient to mark the difference between the great chronologists, in relation to this

<sup>a</sup> Nehem. ch. xii. ver. 23, 24.

fact,

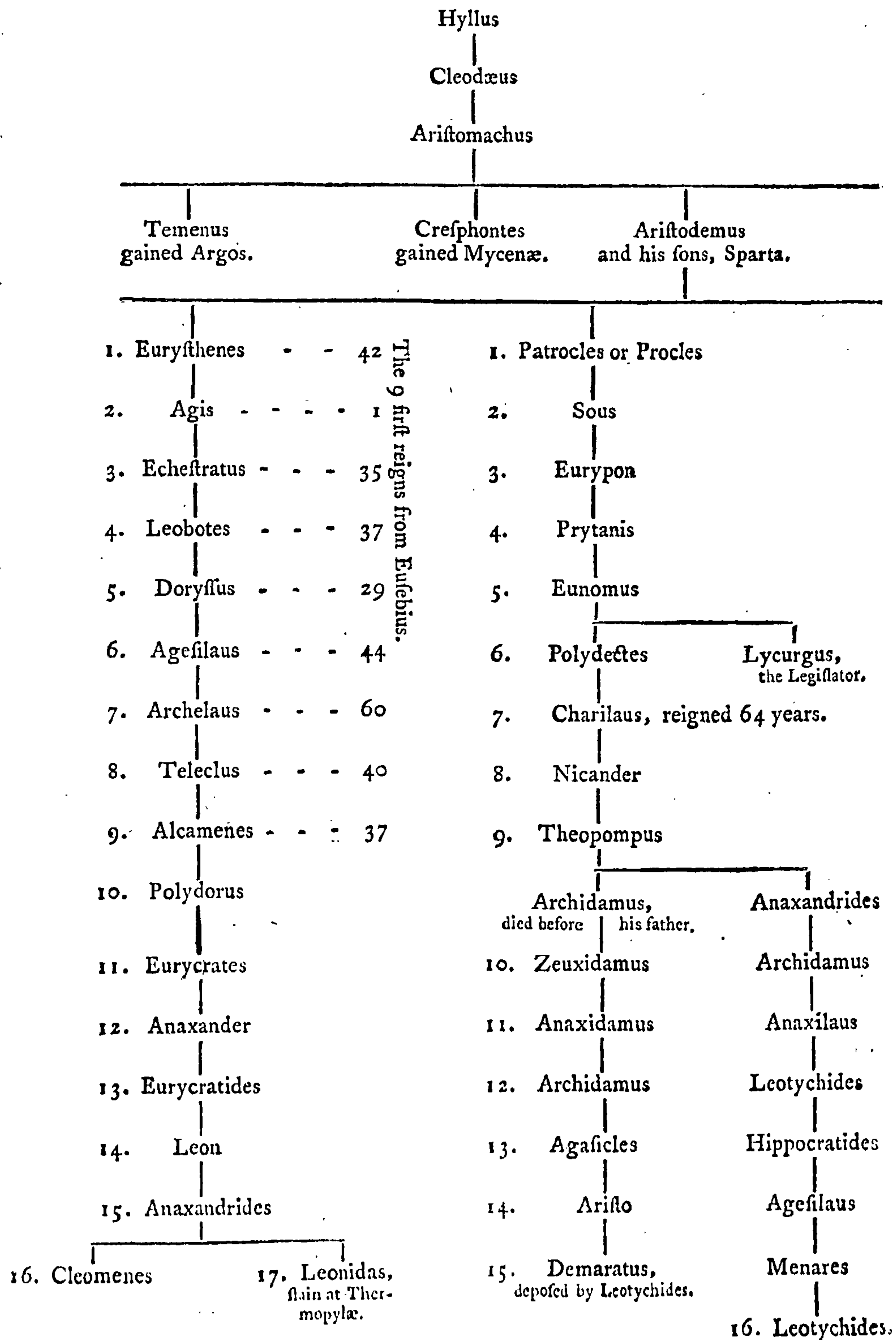


fact, which, though a point of no importance, has been discussed by some great authors with more prolixity than it seems to merit.

Having now considered those facts which are ascertained by historical evidence, it might be thought a blameable negligence in these tables, if no attempt were made to settle the dates of the early events in Grecian history. The principal of these are, 1st, The expedition of the Argonauts. 2dly, The war of Troy. 3dly, The Æolic migration. 4thly, The return of the Heraclidæ. 5thly, The Ionic migration. 6thly, The settlement of the Spartan polity by Lycurgus. 7thly, The wars between Messenia and Sparta. And 8thly, The times of Solon and Pisistratus, together with several other detached facts. In each of these, historical proof is wanting, and conjecture must be indulged; but to distinguish this uncertain evidence from what is founded on more authentic dates, these facts, and others grounded upon them, are, as before mentioned, marked with an asterisk in the tables, that the reader may have no further dependence on the date than the argument may support.

To guide us through this obscure period, we have no better light than what is afforded by the genealogy of the kings of Sparta, which is given us by comparing Herodotus with Pausanias, and collaterally confirmed by Strabo, Plutarch, and many other writers. This genealogy is here laid open for the reader's inspection; for though many may previously be acquainted with the history, it is better to fail by giving too much than too little information.







Hyllus, the son of Hercules, attempted to recover his possessions in Peloponnesus, (which had been lost to his family) about the time of the Trojan war. He failed in the attempt; nor was the 2d expedition, under his son Cleodæus, nor the 3d under his grandson Aristomachus, more successful. In the fourth generation, Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, made another grand effort, and were victorious. Temenus had the kingdom of Argos; Cresphontes, that of Mycenæ; Aristodemus died before the conquest was completed; so his two sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, took the kingdom of Sparta, and governed it jointly. From them are derived the two branches of the royal family, which formed that singular diarchy, or government of two; a fact undeniable, though without a precedent in ancient or modern history. This division of the regal power was ingrafted into the constitution by Lycurgus, was the pride of Sparta, and continued to the dissolution of the state. So attached were they to the line of Hercules, that Demaratus, the 15th king, a man of great merit, was deposed on a slight suspicion of illegitimacy; and Lyfander, a most subtle statesman and able general, who had raised them from a state of depression to be sovereign arbiters of the Grecian republics, could not with all his art induce them to alter the succession to favour his ambitious views. If they were thus jealous of maintaining the blood of the royal family uncorrupted, they would undoubtedly preserve the genealogy of the kings distinct; and this accounts for the consistency of those historians, who have treated of Sparta; not only in the names of the kings, but in marking the particular line from whence they were derived.

The writers, on whose authority I have chiefly drawn up the table, are Herodotus and Pausanias. The first of these, indeed, has not given us a list of kings; but he has traced the genealogy of Leonidas, of the line of Eurysthenes, upwards to Hyllus, and in another part, that of Leotychides, of the line of Procles, to the same source. Pausanias, on the other hand, begins with Hyllus, and gives a short account of his descendants, to the final extinction of the regal government: but confining himself to the elder branch, who were kings of Sparta, he varies in appearance from Herodotus, in the line of Procles, as the names from Theopompus to Leotychides are quite different. On this circumstance, a late writer of great learning has inadvertently laid a foundation for scepticism. “ It

<sup>a</sup> Musgrave's Dissertations, 8vo.



“ is not very material,” says he, “ to settle the difference between Herodotus the older writer, and Pausanias the more diligent antiquary.” Now the truth is, they are perfectly consistent ; and that very circumstance, which is supposed to prove their disagreement, will, if the history be duly considered, establish the veracity of both. Herodotus, as before has been said, gives a genealogy of Leotychides, and not a list of Spartan kings. Now this Leotychides, who succeeded in the place of Demaratus, claimed the crown from Theopompus, though the 9th generation inclusively from that king : therefore it is plain that the intermediate ancestors (which are 7 in number) could not have been kings of Sparta, but a younger branch of the royal family. Now as Pausanias describes the succession of kings, so from Theopompus the names would be different ; for the last author describes the elder branch, and the former the younger : so that, had the names been the same in both authors, there would have been a manifest improbability, to say no more ; but as they are totally different, they are at least consistent. By some mistake of a transcriber, Polydectes is placed before Eunomus in Herodotus, which is wrong ; and the name of Sous, the 2d king of Sparta, is omitted. In this fact I am not certain that the text of Herodotus is mutilated ; for though the short name of Sous might be omitted by the haste of transcribers ; yet Pausanias might as probably, in so early a period, mistake a brother for a father, and Sous might be the elder brother of Eurypon. If this were the case, Herodotus would pass over Sous, as he has done Cleomenes, in the line of Leonidas ; because ascending upwards from son to father, he passes by, designedly, the collateral branches. The result of the whole is, that in the genealogy of Leotychides, Pausanias and Herodotus are consistent with each other ; in that of Leonidas they are quite agreed. From these and other testimonies, the series of Spartan kings seems to be the most authentic guide for investigating the ancient history of Greece<sup>a</sup>. In Boeotia, Argos, Sicyon, &c. there were series of

<sup>a</sup> Before I proceed, it will be necessary to obviate an objection of Monsieur D'Hancarville, to the list of the kings of Sparta, in a fine and useful work, which was published many years after I had drawn up these tables. [Recherches sur l'Origine et le Progres des Arts en Grece.] The objection is founded on

an inscription discovered by Monsieur Fourmont in Greece, and copied by him. The words are, *Ἀναξίδαμος Ζευξίδαμο το Ἀναξανδρο το Εὐρυκρατο Βασιος*. The difficulty is, that Anaxidamus, according to Monsieur D'Hancarville, is not only the son of Zeuxidamus, but the grandson of Anaxander, and the 7th from Eurycrates.



kings preserved; but the antiquarians of after times paid no great attention to them; though probably more than they deserved. The kingdom of Sparta excepted, the regal power was abolished in Greece, before the several states had much knowledge of letters; and the members of an unlettered democracy paid little regard to the history of former tyrants, whose memory they rather wished to obliterate.

Yet, however strongly we may rely on this list of kings, as far as the names and the order of succession go, the duration of their reigns is not expressed in any author but Eusebius; who gives us the chronology of the 9 first reigns in the line of Eurysthenes, and even in these he is clearly contradicted by Pausanias<sup>a</sup>. Thus, for instance, Doryssus is made to reign 29 years, and Agefilaus 44; yet Pausanias affirms these two reigns were short<sup>b</sup>. Besides, the 9 reigns in Eusebius amount to 325 years, giving more than 36 years 1 month to each reign, which is very improbable. Thus the discordance of Eusebius from Pausanias, and the immoderate length of some of the reigns, overturn the credit of his dates; but still as this list of kings begins about the Trojan war, and ends with the battle of Thermopylæ, in which Leonidas was slain, so it must include almost all the facts of which we have any doubts in Grecian history; and therefore deserves a particular investigation.

But if we reject Eusebius, the calculation of Eratosthenes is still less deserving of credit. This old chronologist fixes the birth of Charilaus, king of Sparta, to have happened 405 years before the expedition of Xerxes<sup>c</sup>: now this expedition falls in with the 13th of Leotychides, of the line of Procles.

rycrates. This interpretation makes the inscription differ widely from Pausanias, Herodotus, and other authorities collected by Meursius. Many have doubted the authenticity of the inscription. I allow it to be genuine, but deny the conclusion; for, so far from contradicting, it seems to support the catalogue of Pausanias, and the genealogy of Herodotus. May we not explain it thus? This inscription relates to the two kings of Sparta, Anaxidamus and Anaxander, who reigned jointly. This may be implied not only by their place in the table, where they appear in the same line, but from the evidence of history, that the Messenians were expelled during their reigns. Anaxidamus was undoubtedly the

son of Zeuxidamus, and Anaxander of Eurycrates, and the inscription is perfectly consonant with history. The word βαγος at the close is not to be explained, unless we could see the original. Possibly it may be a contraction of βασιλεος, for as the old Greek Sigma was sometimes formed like an inverted Hebrew Beth, the lower line being obliterated, it would resemble a Gamma.

<sup>a</sup> Eusebius most unaccountably says, the line of Spartan kings failed at the 9th from Eurysthenes.

<sup>b</sup> δι' ὀλίγου σφᾶς τὸ χρεὼν ἐπέλαβεν ἀμφοτέρους. Pausan. l. iii. p. 161.

<sup>c</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 336. Colon. 1688.

Deduct



Deduct 13 from 405, and there remain 392 years for the 9 reigns from Demaratus to Charilaus. These, on an average, give more than 43 years 6 months to each king. If we now turn to the other line of Eurysthenes, we find Leonidas slain at Thermopylæ, in the year before Christ 480. We shall give rather too much advantage to Eratosthenes, by reckoning 12 reigns, even as high as Agesilaus; but then, the number 405 divided by 12 gives 33 years 9 months to a reign, and a medium of the two amounts to 38 years 7 months. It may be said, in favour of Eratosthenes that the reign of Charilaus is a singular instance; for being a posthumous son of Polydectes, his birth was the beginning of his reign, which might in that case last 64 years, which is the longest date assigned to it. Let us then subtract the reign of Charilaus from 405, and there remain 341 years from the accession of Nicander to the 13th of Leotychides. But as Leotychides reigned in all 24 years, let 11 years be added to 341, and the whole number is 352 years, for 9 complete reigns; which is somewhat more than 39 years to each, though two of this series we know were banished. We are told moreover, that Eratosthenes, like Herodotus, reckoned generations and reigns as the same, and allowed but three to a century; so that 9 reigns were equivalent to 300 years; but in the former calculation of 392 years for 9 reigns, he deserts his own rule, and forces the age of Lycurgus to the year before Christ 884; that is, 392 years before the exile of Demaratus. This seems the more extraordinary, as, had he retained the calculation before mentioned, then, from the 1st of Leotychides in 492 before Christ, reckon 300 years for 9 reigns, and it brings you to the year 792, but 16 years before the 1st Olympiad; which would have countenanced a tradition, mentioned by Aristotle, that Lycurgus was contemporary with Iphitus, the founder of the Olympic games.

Let us next compare this technical calculation with those reigns, which may be settled by good evidence in after times. In the line of Eurysthenes, are 7 reigns from Plistonax the son of Leonidas, who was crowned in the year before Christ 480, to the end of Cleomenes in 336; a period of 144 years. The average of these is 20 years 7 months (or rather under) to a reign. In the line of Procles, there are 6 reigns from the accession of Leotychides, in the year before Christ 492, to the death of Agis in 330; a period of 162 years. The average amounts to 27 years; and a medium computation of these 13 reigns is something under 24 years to each. There is likewise a manifest inconsistency, if



if we compare the times of the Spartan kings, according to the technical chronology of Eratosthenes, with the kings and perpetual Archons of Athens, which are carefully collected by Meursius, from old writers, in the following manner.

	Years.		Years.
1. Demophoon	33	11. Phorbas	228
2. Oxyntes	12	12. Megacles	30
3. Aphidas	1	13. Diognetus	28
4. Thymoetes	8	14. Pherecles	25
5. Melanthus	37	15. Aripbron	19
6. Codrus	21	16. Theseus	20
7. Medon	20	17. Agamestor	27
8. Acastus	36	18. Æschylus	17
9. Archippus	19	19. Alcmaeon	23
10. Therippus	41		2
	228		419

It is agreed, that Menestheus, king of Athens, died in his return from the taking of Troy ; consequently the accession of Demophoon, the son of Theseus, was coeval with that era. In the Spartan genealogy, Hyllus was succeeded by Cleodæus, at nearly the same time ; consequently by striking off Menestheus from the one, and Hyllus from the other, these two series may be compared together. The Athenian kings and Archons (which being for life must be considered as kings) are 19. Now in the Spartan table, from Cleodæus to Cleomenes inclusively, is the same number of kings in the line of Eurysthenes down to the end of Cleomenes ; and the like in the other line of Procles, from Cleodæus to Leotychides inclusively. Now Eratosthenes says, that 704 years intervened between the taking of Troy and the expedition of Xerxes ; consequently, as Leonidas, who was slain at Thermopylæ, the successor of Cleomenes, could not reign more than about 10 or 12 years, there cannot be given less than 692 years for 19 kings ; which gives an average of 36 years 4 months to a reign. In the line of Procles the average will be still greater ; for, as the 19 reigns must be extended to the exile of Leotychides, 11 years after the expedition of Xerxes, the amount will be from the taking



taking of Troy 715 years; which divided by 19 give 37 years 7 months to a reign. On the other hand, the kings of Athens and perpetual Archons, though the same in number, make no more than 419 years; which on an average is about 22 years 19 days for each reign. Whence can arise this great difference in the calculations of Athens and Sparta, which at least is equal to 273 years, or about 14 years in each reign? Not that I rely on the series of Athenian Archons; for after Codrus, the last king, it may (for reasons to be mentioned hereafter) be justly suspected; but it is introduced to shew the inconsistency of the old technical chronologists, and may lead us to admit analogical reasoning, when historical evidence is deficient.

Phanias, as quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, says there were 715 years between the archonship of Exænetus, viz. the year 334 before Christ, and the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ. These two numbers added, lead to the year before Christ 1049. Ephorus antedates the same fact 20 years, and Eratosthenes about 54, placing it in the year before Christ 1103. All these writers seem to conclude, that Troy was taken 80 years before the settlement of the Heraclidæ; consequently the date of Phanias is 1129, that of Ephorus 1149, and Eratosthenes 1183 before Christ. Virgil, in his first *Æneid*, implies, there were 340 between the taking of Troy and the building of Rome. Now the oldest date of Rome being built is that of Varro, in the year before Christ 753. These two numbers added, bring us to the year 1093. The noted marble, called the Parian Chronicle, has a date which corresponds with the year 1207, viz. a difference of 114 years from Virgil's computation.<sup>a</sup>

Lactantius, a celebrated ecclesiastical writer, places this event 1470 years before his own time<sup>b</sup>. Now as he flourished about 303 years after our Saviour, deduct this number, and the remainder is the 1167th. year before Christ. This same author has, in another part of his works<sup>c</sup>, a calculation so discordant with this, if the text be rightly printed, that we can have no dependence on the former; for there he says, it was 140 years after Solomon. I shall suppose he means the accession of that monarch, who, as he

<sup>a</sup> Appian in his *Mithridatic war*, l. i. p. 206. says with some diffidence [*τις ἠνέστη*] that the destruction of Ilium by Fimbria, viz. the year before Christ 84, was 1050 years after

the destruction of Troy. This leads us to the year 1137. A. C.

<sup>b</sup> Lactantius de *falsâ Religione ad finem*.

<sup>c</sup> Lactantius de *verâ Sapient.* c. 8.

says



says, mounted the throne 1010 years before Christ<sup>a</sup>. This leads us to 870 before Christ, which corresponds with the 5th of Joash, and the 11th of Jehu. I wish to think, as some critics have done, that the transcribers have mistaken the word. Instead of *anteceffit*, it has been read *exceffit*. A much less violent emendation of the text will give the same sense<sup>b</sup>: but the difficulty is not yet removed; for his argument leads us to think, he meant the taking of Troy was posterior to Solomon; or else, if we could suppose it to mean before Solomon, it would nearly agree with his other calculation. These passages are not however to be reconciled, by any correction, with another calculation of the same author in the same book, wherein he says the war of Troy was 900 years after Moses<sup>c</sup>. The age of the Patriarch is settled by him thus: Moses governed 40 years; Joshua 27; Judges 370; Kings, as far as the last of Zedekiah, 460; Return under Cyrus 70. The total is 967 years. By the return under Cyrus, we may suppose he means the year 559 before Christ, when Astyages was deposed. These two sums bring us to the year 1526 for the beginning of Moses: strike off 900, and it brings us to the year 626, the 13th of Josiah, king of Judah; the amazing difference of 854 years.

The last calculation worth mentioning is that of Herodotus, who, though he gives his dates from the best records he could discover, and seemingly with strict fidelity, yet where his enquiries were fruitless, took up the calculation of 3 generations being equivalent to a century, and thus may be called a technical chronologist. In his 2d book<sup>d</sup>, mentioning the superiour antiquity of the Gods of Egypt to those of Greece, he says, that it was about 800 years from his time to the war of Troy, and about 900 to Hercules, the son of Alcmena. Now Herodotus recited his history in the year before Christ 445; consequently the Trojan war was about 1245 before Christ; and Hercules flourished in 1345. Now from Herodotus himself we collect but 23 or 22 generations from his own time to that of the Grecian Hercules, which give an average of about 39 or 40 years to each. It may once more be remarked, that Herodotus deserts the rule before mentioned, of allowing little more than 33 years

<sup>a</sup> Lactantius de verâ Sapient. c. 16.

<sup>b</sup> The text is quorum *alter* [scilicet Solomon] Trojanæ urbis excidium 140 annis anteceffit. If we read *alteri*, then excidium may

be a nominative case.

<sup>c</sup> Lactantius de verâ Sapient. c. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Herod. l. ii. c. 145.



to a generation : but it is still more to be noted, that he gives a century between Hercules and the war of Troy ; for the current sense of all antiquity unites in the opinion, that the children of the former attended at the siege. This erroneous computation of Herodotus seems to have been grounded on the history he has given us, in his first book, of the kings of Lydia. He there puts down the names and the reigns of 5 kings from Crœsus to Gyges, who murdered Candaules, the last of the race of the Heraclidæ. The first of these Heraclidæ who reigned at Sardes was Agron, who drew his descent through Ninus and Belus to Alcæus, the son of Hercules<sup>a</sup>. He moreover informs us, that from Candaules to Agron were 22 reigns and generations inclusively, which continued 505 years. Now as the last year of Crœsus coincides with the year before Christ 546, the 1st of Gyges must be placed in 715. Let us add 505 years for the race of the Heraclidæ, and the 1st of Agron agrees with the year before Christ 1220. So far Herodotus seems to have had historical evidence for his dates, as in this instance he clearly deviates from his own rule : for divide the whole space 505 by 22, the number of reigns, and the average is not quite 23 years for each king, instead of 33. For the 4 antecedent generations up to Hercules, he seems, for want of information, to have followed his own system ; for as they would amount to about 132 years, add thereto 1220, and you have the year before Christ 1352, which is but 7 years different from his former calculation. But then this Hercules, the first of the Lydian Heraclidæ, must have been more probably the Tyrian than the Grecian Hercules ; for Belus and Ninus, mentioned before, are Phœnician or Assyrian names, and can have no reference to the son of Alcmena. Herodotus allows there was a Hercules of Tyre, 5 generations prior to the Grecian. May he not have transferred the time of the latter to the former Hercules ? It is at least worth some enquiry. From the age of Herodotus to the Grecian Hercules are, by his own calculation, 22 generations, and 5 more to the Hercules of Tyre ; in all 27. Now divide this by 3 to a century, and the product is exactly 900 years, the date given by Herodotus. This is a mere conjecture ; but at least it makes the historian, though under a mistake, consistent with his own rule : and if we reflect on the difficulties an enquirer must have met with, when writings were so very

<sup>a</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 7.



scarce, he should not be severely censured for one inconsistency. With regard to his date of the war of Troy, it may be sufficient to observe, that he allows no more than 22 generations for the space of 800 years; viz. above 36 years 4 months on an average; which is not only more than his calculation would demand, but still more devious from the general course of human nature.

Thus there is no reason for attending to the technical chronology of the ancients; the authors of which, says Plutarch, in his life of Solon, contradicted the best established traditions of antiquity, while they were far from agreeing with each other<sup>a</sup>. Let some one fact be chosen, where historical evidence is not entirely deficient; as, for instance, the settlement of the Spartan polity by Lycurgus. Plato, in his *Minos*<sup>b</sup>, says, that the laws of Lycurgus had not been established above 300 years, or a little more, before that dialogue. Now as Socrates was put to death in the year 400 before Christ, we cannot place Lycurgus lower down than the year 700; but he might be more ancient, by some years, as we do not know the date of the dialogue. Thucydides, in his first book, says, the Spartan polity was settled 400 years<sup>c</sup> before the end of the Peloponnesian war, which comes to the year 804 before Christ; though there are some who read *τριακοσίων* in Thucydides as well as Plato, and on the respectable authority of good manuscripts. Aristotle makes Lycurgus contemporary with Iphitus, and consequently to have existed in the 776th year before Christ. In this discordance of three celebrated authors, conjecture must be allowed; and more especially as Xenophon does not clear up the point, only saying, that Lycurgus flourished in the time of the Heraclidæ<sup>d</sup>; and as Plutarch, after the most careful enquiry, leaves the question undetermined.

Let us then endeavour to reason from analogy. The battle of Ther-

<sup>a</sup> These were called Canons. ἔμοι δοκῶ προήσθαι χρητικοῖς τισι λεγομένοις κανόσιν, ἕς μυρίαί διορθῶντες ἄχρι σήμερον, εἰς ἃδὲν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογούμενον δύνανται καταστῆσαι τὰς ἀντιλογίας.

<sup>b</sup> ταῦτά γε ἔδὲ πω ἴσως ἔτη τριακόσια, ἢ ὀλίγω τούτων πλείω. p. 509. l. 25. Ed. Basil. 1534.

<sup>c</sup> Thucydides, l. i. p. 13. Ed. Franc. 1594.

<sup>d</sup> This passage is to be found in his "Laced. Respub." p. 542. Ed. Leunclav. 1569. [ὁ γὰρ Λυκῦργος κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας λέγεται γενέσθαι] ἔγω δὲ παλαιοὶ ὅτις, κ. τ. λ. It clearly appears that Xe-

nophon thought Lycurgus flourished very long before his time, and yet he must have known that the Heraclidæ were on the throne of Sparta when he wrote. Some corruption may have crept into the text of Xenophon; but I rather suppose these words were the blundering insertion of some transcriber; for they are placed in a parenthesis, have no meaning, and the sense of Xenophon is complete if they be omitted.



mopylæ was fought in the year before Christ 480. Demaratus was exiled 13 years before, consequently in 493. From this date we count 9 reigns, to Charilaus inclusively. If we adopt Plato's date, of a little more than 300 years, the birth of Charilaus will fall in with the year 702, or nearly so. This was the time when Lycurgus began to enforce his institutions. The space between 702 and 493 is 209 years; divide it by 9, and the average of each reign is 23 years 2 months and a few days. I should rather think however, that Plato fixed his date to the 20th year of Charilaus; for Lycurgus was just so long in settling the laws and constitution of Sparta. Let us again suppose, what is very probable, the time of Plato's dialogue to be 20 years before the death of Socrates. This will raise the birth of Charilaus to the year 742 before Christ; viz. the space of 249 years from the birth of Charilaus to the exile of Demaratus. The 9 kings in this space reigned, on an average, 31 years each; but the reign of Charilaus should not be introduced; for it is said to have continued 64 years; reckoning from the death of his father, and including the seven months regency of his uncle Lycurgus before his birth. This length of reign is a fact not to be disputed; but it may be cut off from the total of 249 years, and the remainder of 185 years will give 23 years 1 month and more, for each reign. In the line of Eurysthenes, Plato's calculation, from the death of Leonidas to the beginning of Archelaus, is about 262 years. These 11 reigns give an average of 23 years 9 months; and a medium of both gives nearly 23 years 6 months. This is more probable than the 400 years of Thucydides; who in the line of Procles gives 247 years for 8 reigns (deducting that of Charilaus); the average of which is 30 years 10 months to each, and more. In the line of Eurysthenes, the space is 324 years for 11 reigns; viz. 29 years 5 months for each; and the medium calculation of the two is about 30 years 1 month 15 days.

From hence it seems probable, that we may compute between 23 and 24 years to a reign, in a state where the royal family had been long established, and there were no competitors for the throne. Yet this computation is greater than the general medium fixed by Sir Isaac Newton, from various examples. The Jewish kings, from Solomon to Zedekiah inclusive, are in number 21; the space of time, 425 years; the average of reigns, 20 years 3 months; of the kings of Israel, 14 years and about 20



days. The 1st race of Tyrian kings, cited by Josephus, are 12 years  $5\frac{1}{2}$  months. The 2d race, when they seem to have been subject to Babylon, are but 5 years 1 month. The era from Nabonassar to Nabonadius inclusive, gives but 11 years 7 months. The 10 kings of Persia are 20 years 8 months; and these two last would have been less, had the names of those kings, who did not reign a complete year, been inserted. But, in answer to this, it is plain from history, that the Jewish throne was often shaken by intestine commotions; that of the Israelites much more: and by the short reigns of some of the kings of Babylon, and two interregnums, we may justly infer, that that state was disturbed by civil troubles, or foreign invasions. Take the 5 reigns from Assaradinus to Nebuchadnezzar inclusive; they give 119 years, or 23 years 9 months, on an average; and this we have good reason to suppose was the flourishing period of the empire. The 5 kings of Lydia from Gyges are stated by Herodotus. They were all of one family, and amount to about 34 years to each reign. The Egyptian kings (which are likewise given us by the same author) have 29 years each, and the computation is founded on good evidence; but in neither list are there more than five names, and we cannot form any probable conclusion from so small a number. Nay, supposing there had been 10 or more kings, we ought to enquire if the succession was regular from father to son. In the Spartan line we have one instance in Zeuxidamus, where a grandson succeeded; but that instance being mentioned, it is a fair presumption there is no other. In the history of France we find an exception to our calculation; for the 10 reigns from the late king upwards reach from 1774 to 1498, a period of 276 years; and the average is about 27 years 7 months: but Louis XIV. survived both his son and his grandson, and lived to the age of nearly 77; being succeeded by an infant great grandson; which is a rare example, and cannot be produced as a general rule. In our own country we have a period of the same length nearly, in which were 13 reigns, viz. from the accession of Henry VII. in 1485, to 1760; when his present Majesty mounted the throne. Now 275 years, the intervening period, divided by 13, give 21 years and about 2 months to a reign. But in this space one king was slain and another deposed; and there were frequently collateral kindred who reigned, as three children of Henry VIII. two of Charles I. and two of James II. whilst, till the death of George II. the descent was never interrupted,

by



by the succession of a grandson. This period may then be deemed nearly as much below the common standard as the other was above it, for a medium of the two is 24 years and a little over.

To dwell no longer on this division of the subject; if we know a state has been much disturbed by civil wars and change of families, as was the Athenian state under its kings, then about 18 or 20 years at most may be a proper average: if one family has been well established, and no minorities have intervened, or but one, then 23 or 24 years may be allowed: but where there have been frequent minorities, as, for instance, the last race of the French kings, the reigns will be longer.

But still analogical reasoning cannot be admitted where historical evidence contradicts it; but then it should be direct evidence, drawn from some writer near the times; and not from such compilers as have formed their calculations on a system. In this light may those of Pausanias be considered, in relation to the two Messenian wars. For if we adopt his date, of the 2d year of the 9th Olympiad, for the beginning of the war, then, as Alcamenes, king of Sparta, died in the 2d year of the war, we must place the accession of Polydorus in the 3d year of the same Olympiad, corresponding with the year before Christ 742. Now from Polydorus to Leonidas inclusively, are 8 complete reigns; and the interval of time is 262 years; that is, 32 years 9 months to a reign. This calculation is so near the rule of 33 years to a reign, that we may presume it was founded on some such hypothesis. Yet we know that Polydorus could not reign more than 20 years, nor Leonidas quite 12 years<sup>a</sup>. Strike off 32 from 262 years, and the average of the remaining 6 reigns is 38 years 4 months. Thus it seems to be probable that Pausanias has placed the beginning of these wars too high, partly induced to it by a rule which Herodotus first mentions, and Eratosthenes adopts, and possibly from another circumstance, the Olympic Register. It was recorded in the list of victors at the games, that Polychares, a Messenian, gained a prize in the 4th Olympiad. Now the Messenian, who was the cause of the

<sup>a</sup> Polydorus began to reign in the 2d year of the 1st Messenian war; and consequently had reigned 18 years, at the close of it. Soon after he was assassinated. Cleomenes, the brother of Leonidas, deposed Demaratus in the year before

Christ 493, just 13 years before the battle of Thermopylæ, where Leonidas was slain. Cleomenes lived some time after, and consequently Leonidas could not reign more than 12 years.



first war, bore the name of Polychares, and Pausanias concludes they were the same person. This however he could not learn from the records of Olympia, which related only to those who gained the prizes in the several games; but not to any other historical facts. The identity of names has often produced mistakes, in both sacred and profane history; and this may be one further proof how well this opinion is founded. If we reason from analogy, and give 23 years 6 months to a reign, then, from the death of Leonidas upwards to the accession of Polydorus, are 188 years; to which add one complete year for the last of Alcarnenes, and the first war begins in the year before Christ 669. According to Pausanias, the two wars lasted 76 years, and consequently were ended in the year before Christ 593.

The intermediate facts seem to have been collected with great care and critical accuracy by our author; though, by his own avowal, he worked with bad materials. His chief authorities are two poets, Myron and Rhianus; to which he adds some quotations from Tyræus, and occasionally applies to the Olympic Register, and the Archons of Athens, as an easy arrangement of his facts. Yet he censures the poet's mistakes in chronology. The first of them wrote, that Theopompus, king of Sparta, who commanded at the beginning of the 1st war, was slain by Aristomenes, the Messenian general, in the 2d war, 59 years after. The other poet, Rhianus, is guilty of an error, as he thinks, in saying that Leotychides was king of Sparta, when the 2d war was ended. I suspect the mistake arose from hence, that by the genealogy of Leotychides, as before stated from Herodotus, his 5th ancestor bore nearly the same name. He is found in the same parallel with Archidamus, and might easily be coeval with Anaxidamus, who commanded in the beginning of the 2d Messenian war. May we not then suppose this Leotychides might be general of the Spartan army at the end of the same war, though not king of Sparta; and Rhianus might, from the resemblance of names, transfer to Leotychides, who reigned long after, what was due to his ancestor<sup>a</sup>. However this apology for Rhianus may be received, it is very clear, from such mistakes as have just been mentioned, that the authors must have written long after

<sup>a</sup> It may be conjectured, that Pausanias himself, inattentive to the genealogy of Leotychides in Herodotus, might mistake the poet's meaning.



the facts had happened ; and being poets, were more likely to embellish the narrative than to represent the simple truth<sup>a</sup>. Yet if these accounts be rejected entirely, the only resource is a total silence ; for, however imperfect they may seem, they were still the oldest writers on the subject ; and from hence we shall briefly relate the principal events of this important contest.

Teleclus, king of Sparta, father of Alcamenes, was slain by the Messenians, in the temple of Diana. The motives for this action were differently reported by the two nations ; nor is the time settled. Pausanias places it in the reign of Nicander, son of Charilaus. Meursius opposes this opinion ; and, if the dates of Eusebius are implicitly followed, it would fall in the reign of Charilaus. The authority of Pausanias being at least as good as that of Eusebius, this matter may hang in suspense, though it is necessary to mention the fact, as it was the origin of an inexorable war between Messenia and Sparta. The first attempt was on the side of Sparta ; and the destruction of Amphea by surprise in the year 669, was a heavy blow to their antagonists. Theopompus and Alcamenes led the Spartans, and Antiochus the Messenians. This fact is placed by Pausanias in the 5th year of Æsimedes, the 2d. decennial Archon of Athens ; but, according to Eusebius, in the last of Charops, his predecessor. This difference between the two compilers does not strengthen the authority of either. If Pausanias consulted the Registers at Athens (if any there were), as carefully as he did the Olympic Tables, he could not, even from thence, fix the time of the Messenian war, in which Athens was not engaged. On this account his appeal to the Olympiads and Archons seems to be intended only as an ease to his reader. For the instruction of Greece in general, he digested his chronology by Olympiads, which were easily referred to ; and for the Athenians in particular, he added the presiding Archon : but it is very improbable that either of these tables included the political concerns of other states : consequently it is an arbitrary application ; and, as we see from Eusebius, not always adopted by other writers.

<sup>a</sup> For particulars of this war see the *Messénica* of Pausanias. Whoever reads it will discover in many places a noble vein of poetical fire ; from whence I conjecture that our author has often borrowed the very words of

one or other of the poets. I recommend it to the perusal of abler judges in Greek metre, as such a disquisition does not accord with the subject of this discourse.



In a few months after the destruction of Amphea, Euphaes, the son of Antiochus, was king of Messenia, his father being deceased. In the next year Alcamenes dies; but Polydorus, his son, and Theopompus, carry on the war. They were assisted by Euryleon, by descent a Theban, and, according to Pausanias, the 5th from Autesion, the father of The-  
 ras, who led the colony into the island of Calliste. This, however, is scarcely possible; for, according to Pausanias himself, Theopompus was the 9th king from Procles, in lineal succession; he was therefore the 10th from Aristodemus. Now we cannot place Autesion below the line of Aristodemus; because he married his daughter Argia to that chief, and defended the cause of Eurysthenes, and Procles his sons, against their uncle Cresphontes. If this fact be rightly stated by Pausanias, we cannot place the line of Euryleon further than Prytanis, or Eunomus at furthest, viz. before the time of Lycurgus. This will be clear to any one who consults the list of Spartan kings; and the argument will be stronger in the line of Eurysthenes; for Polydorus, the colleague of Theopompus, was one degree more remote from the original stock. Thus Pausanias, in this instance, does not reason consistently; nor can we defend him by supposing the word *πέμπτος* was the mistake of a transcriber, as he confirms the total number by particularizing the ancestry of Euryleon by name; and the accounts agree with each other<sup>a</sup>. It is very probable there might have been a Euryleon, in the line of Autesion, at the time he mentions, and another of the same name some generations after; which, in the multiplicity of objects before him, were confounded together.

The first three campaigns were more ruinous to both, than decisive to either. The surprise of Amphea had cautioned the Messenians to keep proper garrisons; and the Spartans were not skilled in sieges. This while the coasts of Laconia were ravaged by sea, and all the tillage near Mount Taygetus destroyed. In the 4th year a battle was fought; but, though very bloody, neither side could claim the victory. In the following, or 5th year, there was another engagement, still more destructive, and the loss nearly equal. The Messenians were now oppressed by the necessary expences of the war, and by a pestilential disorder;

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. l. iv. p. 229. The line is thus described. Euryleon, Ægeus, Oiolycus, The-  
 ras, Autesion.



der; which, though partial in its progress, yet lessened their numbers. Taking counsel, they determined to enlarge and fortify the strong city of Ithome, and to abandon the open country. The Delphian Oracle was then consulted, and an answer given, which marks the savage inhumanity of this period;—that they must sacrifice a noble virgin, to ensure success. The daughter of Lyciscus was drawn by lot; but her father secured both her and himself, by flying to the Spartans. Aristodemus, a noble Messenian, and nearly connected with Euphaes by friendship and blood, offered his daughter in exchange; and murdered her at last with his own hands. The particulars of this transaction are to be found in Pausanias, who seems rather to praise the patriotic motive of Aristodemus, than to censure his cruelty<sup>a</sup>. These transactions, as we shall find very soon, must have taken up near 2 years; in all which time the hostilities were either intermitted, or at least there was no action of consequence. Probably the Spartans were engaged in the war with the Argians; but, whatever was the cause, they desisted from their attacks on Messenia till the 6th year from the flight of Lyciscus. A battle was then fought; and Euphaes, rashly pursuing the Spartans, was slain, in the 13th year of his reign. Aristodemus was elected in his place, in whose 5th year there was another indecisive battle: but the Messenians having suffered much more in proportion than the Spartans, the Oracle was again consulted. The ambiguity of the answer, and the supposed completion, are not worth relating: it is enough to say, that Aristodemus, finding his unnatural sacrifice had not secured the end he proposed, slew himself in despair on his daughter's tomb in this year. Shocked at this disaster, the Messenians lost their courage; and, though they elected a new general, submitted to the Spartans after a struggle of 20 years. Pausanias places this event in the 4th of Hippomenes, the 4th decennial Archon of Athens, and the 1st of the 14th Olympiad. This is consistent with his former date; but if that be false, the latter cannot be trusted. In these tables it is dated the 3d year of the 32d Olympiad; Polydorus and Theopompus being still kings of Sparta. Ithome was taken and destroyed, and Messenia made subject to Lacedæmon. Polydorus was soon after assassinated; nor could Theopompus survive him long, being already wasted with age and grief for the loss of his son Archidamus. Zeuxidamus, his grandson, succeeded,

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. l. iv. p. 234.



who reigned jointly with Eurycrates, the son of Polydorus. Their successors were Anaxander and Anaxidamus, who, in the 39th year from the close of the last Messenian war, began the 2d fatal conflict, in the 3d year of the 42d Olympiad; years before Christ 610 and 609. Aristomenes, a brave and able Messenian, was the fomenter of this revolt. In the 2d year he beat the Spartans at Deræ; who were immediately inclined to peace, had not the poetic fire of the blind Tyrtæus roused them again to action. In the 7th year the Spartans corrupted Aristocrates, king of Arcadia; and by that treason defeated the brave Messenians. In the next campaign, as it should seem, Aristomenes fortified Ira, which he held for 11 years against Sparta; that is, to the 18th year of the war. His great actions during this interval of time, as they have no dates, are rather an object of political than chronological enquiry. Ira was at last taken. Aristomenes escaped, with many of his brave countrymen, who were hospitably received in Arcadia. To retrieve their affairs, he intended a desperate attack on Sparta, with the aid of 300 Arcadians. As the victims were not propitious, the attack was delayed; and Aristocrates had sufficient time to warn the Lacedæmonians of their danger. This second treason being detected, the Arcadians, in revenge, stoned the king to death, and, as it should seem, established a republican government, about the year before Christ 592 or 591. Soon after the remaining Messenians settled at Zancle, in Sicily, and changed the name to Messene. Aristomenes refused to attend the colony; and being highly esteemed for his virtue, married his daughter to Damagetus, a Rhodian, who then reigned at Ialysus, in Asia Minor. Aristomenes attended them to Rhodes, where he died, before he could execute his intended plan of visiting the courts of Sardes and Ecbatana, where, Pausanias says, Ardys, the son of Gyges, and Phraortes reigned. Had his first date been right, this account would have tallied with history, as far as relates to Ardys, but could scarcely be reconciled to the history of Media; as it most probably happened at least 10 years before the death of Deioces. According to the dates here given, this event must correspond with the reigns of Alyattes and Aftyages.

The age of Lycurgus, and the wars of Messenia are, with some probability, thus settled at the distance of 53 years from each other; and our conjecture may be strengthened by comparing this account of reigns with the course of nature in generations. We can tell the age precisely of 13 Jewish kings in succession, when their successor was born, from the birth of  
of



of Jehoram to that of Jehoiachin; to which we may add that of Rehoboam, when Solomon was about 18. These amount to 349 years collectively, and divided by 14, give an average of very nearly<sup>a</sup> 25 years to a generation. Now from the birth of Charilaus to that of Demaratus are 9 generations; which, multiplied by 25 years, give a total of 225. Charilaus was born, I think, in 742 before Christ; subtract 225, the remainder is 517; the year when Demaratus might be born; just 25 years before his expulsion. In like manner the time fixed here for the Messenian wars, does not contradict the common course of nature in the other line of Spartan kings. The whole space, from the accession of Polydorus in 667 to 480, is 187 years. Eurycrates might probably be born about 660 before Christ; and then the 4 generations which follow, at 25 years each, make it 100 years to the birth of Anaxandrides, viz. in 560. The remainder of 80 years is not too much for the lives of Anaxandrides and his two sons; for Leonidas, we know, was the youngest son; and if his father was 40 years old at his birth, he could not probably be more than 40 himself, when he was slain at Thermopylæ, as his eldest son was a minor at his death.

The next fact to be considered is the re-settlement of the Heraclidæ in Peloponnesus; which will, if well authenticated, settle the time of the Trojan war. This restoration of the family of Hercules was completely effected when Patrocles and Eurysthenes took the throne of Sparta, and governed jointly. From hence are 6 complete reigns to Polydectes in one line, and Agefilaus in the other, inclusive. Now the reign of Polydectes was short, as we are told on good authority, and Eunomus was cut off by a violent death<sup>b</sup>: consequently we cannot reckon more than 23 years on an average to each reign, viz. 138 years; which, added to 742, give the year before Christ 880. Thucydides expressly says, the taking of Troy was 80 years prior to the re-establishment of the Heraclidæ; which corresponds with the year before Christ 960. Eratosthenes follows this calculation of 80 years; so that it is plain he thought it founded on some well established tradition, which forced his assent. This may be compared with other dates; and that of Virgil should be principally considered; for his merit as an accurate searcher into antiquities is acknowledged by all his commentators, except in the history of Dido. Now Jupiter prophesies in the *Æneid*<sup>c</sup>, that the wars in Latium were

<sup>a</sup> 24 years, and rather more than 339 days.

<sup>b</sup> For these two facts, see Plutarch, in his life of Lycurgus.

<sup>c</sup> *Æneid*. l. i. v. 265—281.



to last 3 years; that Afcanius should build Alba 30 years after; and that the foundation of Rome should be 300 years posterior to that of Alba. This prophecy was delivered in the 7th year from Troy being taken: the sum of the whole is an interval of 340 years between those events. The foundation of Rome was a very uncertain epocha in Virgil's time. Plutarch, however, seems to settle it pretty nearly; for, in his life of Numa, he says, that king died about 400 years before the consulate of P. Cornelius, and M. Bæbius; which falls in with the year 181 before Christ. From hence it appears that nothing is wanting to complete this date, but the reigns of Romulus and Numa, the two first kings of Rome. This space in Dionysius of Halicarnassus is 80 years: but the learned Mr. Hooke has shewn from historical evidence (in a most ingenious and learned discourse, to which the reader is referred), that it could scarcely be more than 40 years<sup>a</sup>. If so, Rome was founded about 622 before Christ; and then these several numbers give the year 961 before Christ, for the taking of Troy, that is, 219 years before Lycurgus. To afford another testimony of the probability of this calculation, there were 23 kings of Latium and Rome, from Æneas to the expulsion of Tarquin, in the year 508 before Christ. Now the interval between 961 and 508, when Tarquin was expelled, contains the space of 453 years; which, upon an average, make 19 years 8 months and a little more to each reign. This is certainly a sufficient allowance, as 10 of this race were either slain or deposed.

Between the taking of Troy and the establishment of the Heraclidæ, happened the Æolic migration. This was a colony at first led by Penthilus, a natural son of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon; which colony, under the conduct of Echelatus, son of Penthilus, after his father's death, settled in Æolia. This migration happened but a little before the expulsion of Tisamenus from the throne of Sparta, by Patrocles and Eurysthenes, and of course about 884; for it is said Tisamenus did not reign much more than 3 years, and the remaining space must be divided between Ægisthus, who reigned about 9 or 10 years, and Orestes, who reigned about 67 or 70. Meursius, I own, produces the authority of Strabo in his 13th<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Vide Hooke's Roman History, vol. i. after the account of the seven kings.

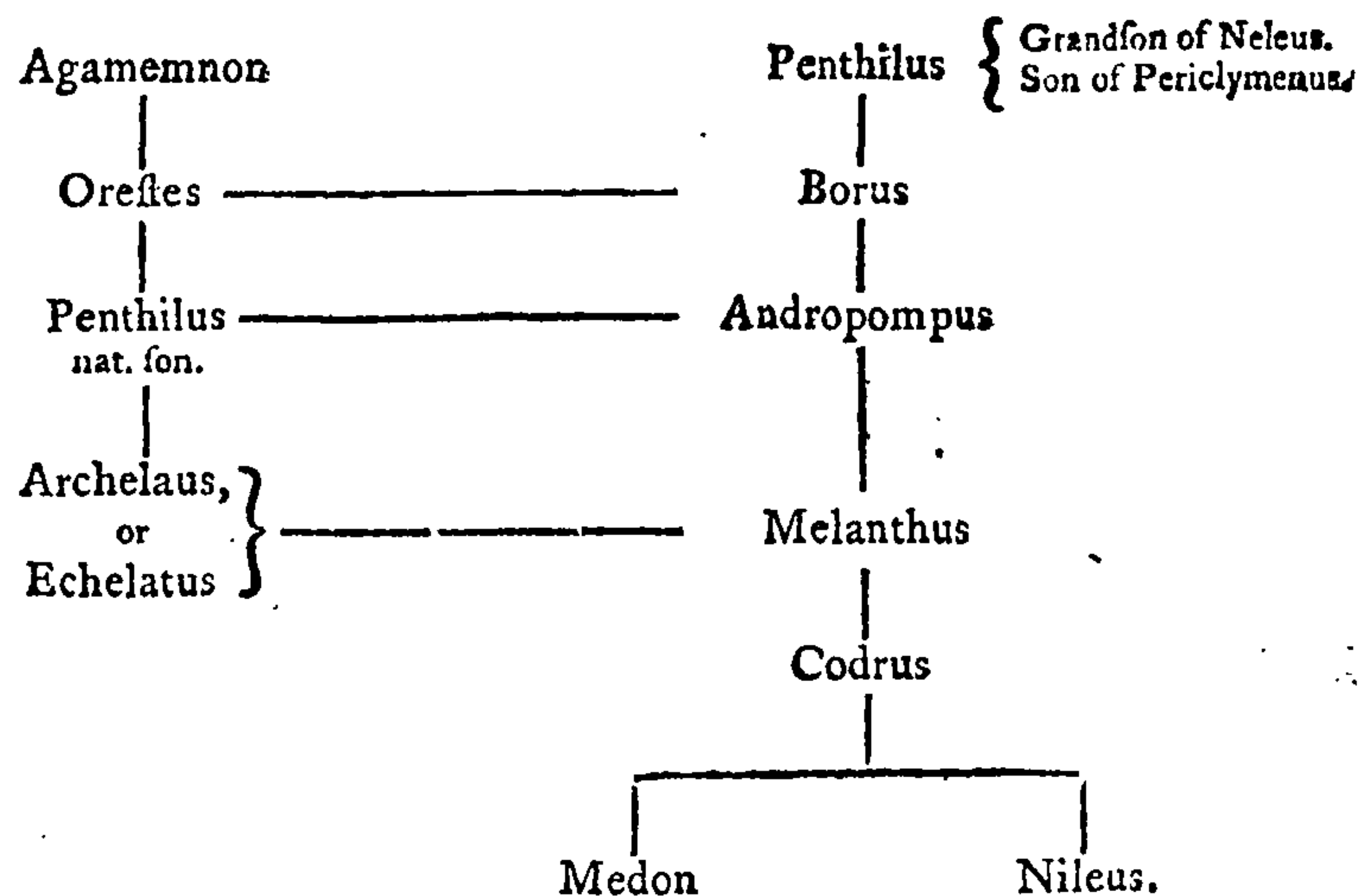
<sup>b</sup> Strabo, p. 582. The passage of Strabo relates to the Æolic migration, and not to the

return of the Heraclidæ. He intimates, indeed, that the two facts were not far distant, but his expressions seem to be indefinite. This is the more probable, as Meursius himself quotes another



book, who places the restoration of the Heraclidæ at a little more than 60 years from the Trojan war, which would shorten the reign of Orestes 20 years : but as this reign is a single instance, we need not alter the text of Thucydides, as we see the best writers have differed as much in other points of history.

The next fact, viz. the Ionic migration, was, according to Strabo, the 4th generation from the Æolic ; which is perfectly agreeable to history, as the following table will demonstrate.



Here <sup>a</sup> we see Nileus, the leader of the Ionic migration, was the 4th inclusively from Andropompus, whose lineal descent corresponds with the line of Penthilus, the first leader of the colony into Æolia. The time when it happened must be fixed by such evidence as we have ; and the reigns of the kings of Athens from the Trojan war to Codrus, ought first to be considered. Now as Menestheus died on his return from Troy, there are 6 reigns from Demophoon to Codrus ; and, as appears from the

ther passage of Strabo, in which the date from the Trojan war to the settlement of the Heraclidæ, is definitely and expressly said to be 80 years. This last we may conceive to be his true opinion, being the same with that of Eratosthenes, whose works he was intimately acquainted with ; from whom he differs without asperity, as he praises him without adulation. Meursius further says, that Pausanias agrees with the computation of 60 years, because he mentions no more than two intervening gene-

rations, and that he reckons 30 years for each. But Pausanias affirms this historically, and not from any rule. Antilochus, the son of Nestor, died a young man at the war of Troy, leaving a son named Pæon, probably very young. His sons were expelled from Pylos by the Heraclidæ. These are the two generations after the war. Compare Pausanias, l. ii. p. 117. with l. iv. p. 220. [Ed. Sylburgii 1613.] Meursius de Regno Lacon. c. viii.

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, l. xiii. p. 582. Ed. Paris.

table,



table, they reigned 112 years collectively; that is, 18 years 8 months to a reign. This is not an improper average, as the royal family was changed; for Thymoetes expelled Aphidas by violence. From this account, the death of Codrus falls in the year before Christ 848,—36 years after the Æolian expedition. The Ionic migration did not take place immediately; for Nileus, according to Pausanias, disputed the succession with Medon, *for some years*<sup>a</sup>. The time might be about 9 or 10 years, and then Nileus would be about 30 years old, and this would happen 45 years after the former expedition to Æolia. Neither can it be objected, that the number of generations between these two events should be disproportionate to the number of years; for it is said, the reign of Orestes was long, and that Penthilus did not undertake the expedition till the legitimate son of Orestes, Tisamenus, was on the throne: from whence it necessarily follows, that Penthilus was either born to Orestes in his old age, or that he was advanced in life when he began it; which is more probable, as Archelaus, his son, completed it by leading the colony into Asia. This opinion is strengthened by a tradition quoted by Meursius in his *Regn. Att.* that Homer came to Athens in the archonship of Medon. Now the account given by Herodotus, in his genuine history, that Homer and Hesiod flourished 400 years before he wrote, coincides with this calculation of 849, falling in with the year before Christ 845.

But further; from the birth of Hyllus to that of Eurycrates are 14 generations, which, at 25 years each, make 350 years. Now if Eurycrates was born, as we said before, in the year before Christ 660, then 350 added give 1010 for the birth of Hyllus; about 50 years before the destruction of Troy. This nearly settles the date of the Argonautic expedition, an event much controverted by a learned author of our own age; though no ancient writer ever doubted it. For the present let this suffice, that as it was the prevailing opinion of every historian, whether Greek or Latin, that it fell out in the generation preceding the Trojan war, it cannot be placed higher than the year before Christ 1000.

This mode of calculation too seems to be consistent with the foundation of the kingdom of Macedonia by Caranus. This Caranus was the brother of Phidon king of Argos and Corinth, whom the Eleans called in to assist them against the Pisæans, who had usurped the care of the Olym-

<sup>a</sup> "Ἐτισι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον. Pausan. l. vii. p. 398.



pic Games. This fact is related by Strabo and Pausanias; and yet the Parian Chronicle fixes the reign of Phidon 118 years before the 1st Olympiad<sup>a</sup>. The precise time of this application of the people of Elis may therefore demand some investigation. The text of Pausanias fixes it to the 8th Olympiad<sup>b</sup>, which must be wrong; for Strabo<sup>c</sup> informs us, the Eleans held the presidency of the games unmolested, till the 26th Olympiad; after which they were ejected by the Pisæans. We may then conclude some numeral is wanting in the text of Pausanias, and Newton supposes him to mean the 48th Olympiad. This opinion is, however, with deference to so great a name, irreconcilable with the text of that correct author, who having mentioned the 8th Olympiad proceeds to the 34th, and afterwards mentions the 48th Olympiad, when Demophoon was the chief of the Pisæans, and when the Eleans seem to have wanted no assistance to make war with that nation. Can it be supposed, that Pausanias would first have mentioned a transaction in the 48th Olympiad, and then go back to the 34th, when he would be obliged in the next sentence to repeat the name of the 48th Olympiad, and relate a fact which is not consistent with the former account? This mutilated number of Pausanias must then relate to some decade before the 38th, because he mentions the numbers in regular order. Now it could not be the 18th Olympiad; for the Eleans held the presidency of the games till the 26th Olympiad, viz. till it was passed. Now why should Strabo limit the presidency of the Eleans to any certain year, had they not lost it at that time? This leaves no alternative but the 28th Olympiad, which is most probably the truth. The Pisæans seem to have ejected the people of Elis in the 27th, and presided in the games. Four years after the Eleans called in Phidon, who drove out the Pisæans, but acted jointly with the Eleans in the presidency of the games. In the 29th Olympiad the Lacedæmonians were invited to assist the Eleans, who drove out Phidon, and restored the people of Elis to their rights<sup>d</sup>. To establish this fact by positive proof cannot be expected; but if we ground our reasoning, as before, on generations of about 25 years, then, as Phidon was the 10th from Temenus, there will be 250 years to the birth of Phidon. Now Temenus gained Argos about 880; but his nephews conquered it for him, and

<sup>a</sup> Vide Marm. Oxon. p. 413. The Inscription indeed is much mutilated in this place. Lydiat supposes there were two Phidons.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. l. vi. p. 386.

<sup>c</sup> Strabo, l. viii. p. 355.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. l. vi. p. 386, 387.

consequently



consequently were of man's estate at that time: so that Temenus might be born about 940 before Christ. Reckon up 250 years, and it brings us to the year 668, just 22 years before the 28th Olympiad, when the Eleans called in Phidon to assist them. His expulsion was 4 years after; and at that time, or a little later, his brother Caranus might lead a colony into Macedonia, viz. not before the 664th before Christ. He did not, however, immediately settle the kingdom, for the first who was called king was Perdiccas, the 9th inclusively from Archelaus. Now as Archelaus was slain in the 1st year of the 95th Olympiad, viz. in the year before Christ 400, then 9 reigns, at 23 years each, will amount to 207 years, coinciding with the year before Christ 607, which might be near the time of the crown being settled. This date is just 57 years after the arrival of Caranus; and as Eusebius names Coenus and Thurimas as the intermediate kings between Caranus and Perdiccas, 19 years may be allowed for each of the three, which is a sufficient average in a country where the kings were obliged to acquire their dominions by violence.

The foregoing calculation may at first seem to be inconsistent with the history of Corinth, as we find it in Pausanias. The only foundation date we have is the tyranny of Cypselus, which began in 655 before Christ. This Cypselus was descended from Melas, contemporary with Aletes, one of the Heraclidæ, who had Corinth for his share of the conquests. This seizure seems to have been posterior to that of Sparta, and might probably be about the year 870 before Christ. From this time to 655 is a space of 215 years for the intermediate generations between Cypselus and Melas. Sir Isaac Newton concludes, from a passage in Pausanias, that these were no more than 6 in number; and if so, the years aforementioned would not agree with the present scheme. But this very passage may rather imply there were more than 6 generations: this, however, is left to the reader's decision.

<sup>a</sup> “The 6th generation,” says Pausanias, “of the ancestors of Cypselus, “came originally from Gonusa of Sicyon, and the *ancestor of these* was “Melas, the son of Antassus.” Sir Isaac Newton supposes Gonusa to be the name of a female; but it evidently means a town or castle above Sicyon; for, says Pausanias, in his history of Corinth, <sup>b</sup> “This Cypselus was a

<sup>a</sup> Κυψίλω καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις ἕκτον ἦν γένος ἐξ ἀρχῆς Γονύσης τῆς Σικυῶνος, καὶ πρόγονός σφισιν ἦν Μίλας ὁ Ἀντάσσου. Pausan. l. v. p. 323.

<sup>b</sup> Ἀπόγονος δὲ ἦν ὁ Κύψελος Μίλανος τοῦ Ἀντάσου. Μέλαντα δὲ ἐκ Γονεύσης τῆς ὑπὲρ Σικιῶνος στρατεύοντα σὺν Δωριεῦσιν ἐπὶ Κόρινθον, κ. τ. λ. Pausan. l. ii. p. 92.

descendant



“ descendant from Melas, the son of Antaffus, which Melas leading a colony of Dorians from that Goneusa which lies above Sicyon, towards Corinth, was prohibited by Aletes, at the instigation of an Oracle; but at last, in violation of the Oracle, he was received as an inmate or fellow-colonist by Aletes.” This last citation is not contradictory to the interpretation of the former passage; for if Melas led a colony from Goneusa, his family, or part of it, might reside in the original settlement for four generations after him. The words of Pausanias are confessedly obscure, and suspected to be faulty by Sylburgius; but if we render them as Sir Isaac Newton does, then Cypselus being the 6th from Melas, and Aletes the contemporary of Melas, who was but the 5th from Hercules, we cannot reckon more than 10 or 11 descents between the time of Hercules and Cypselus. This would raise the latter to the age of Lycurgus, above a century prior to the foundation date given before of the beginning of the reign of Cypselus. In order to make Pausanias consistent with himself, he must either be rendered as above, or else we must suppose the numeral ἕκτον is wrong. Possibly it might have been δέκατον, which by the loss of two letters was written ἕκτον. With this emendation Sir Isaac’s version may be admitted; as it would give 24 years, or nearly so, to the generations between Cypselus and Melas.

The tyranny of Pisistratus is another date about which authors have differed. To fix every point with certainty will not be an easy task; but Thucydides could hardly be mistaken in asserting, that Hippias was expelled 20 years before the battle of Marathon, that is, in the year 510 before Christ, corresponding with the 3d year of the 67th Olympiad. The subsequent history of Hippias proves that it must be near the truth. Thus then we have gained one foundation date, and have only to enquire what was the duration of the tyranny.

Herodotus has a remarkable passage on this subject<sup>a</sup>. “ After these things, the Pisistratidæ retired to Sigeum, having reigned over the Athenians to the 36th year.” Now Meursius says, the word Pisistratidæ must be applied to the sons of Pisistratus, exclusive of their father. He, consequently, by giving 33 years to Pisistratus and 36 to his sons, forces up the first seizure of the tyranny to some time in the 50th Olympiad; and Clemens Alexandrinus and Tatian are of the same opinion. But

<sup>a</sup> Ἐξέχρησαν ἐς Σίγειον—ἄρξαντες μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἑπτὰ ἔξ τε καὶ τριάκοντα. Herod. l. v. c. 65.



the word *Pisistratidæ* may as well signify the whole duration of the power of father and sons. The scholiast on Aristophanes uses it in that sense in the *Vespæ*<sup>a</sup>, *Ælian* in his *Var. Hist.* and what is more, *Aristotle* himself in his *Politics*. This passage indeed of Aristotle is the best comment on Herodotus, notwithstanding the censure of Meursius<sup>b</sup>. These then are the words of that excellent author<sup>c</sup>: “The third tyranny was that of the *Pisistratidæ*, at Athens: but this was not continual; for *Pisistratus* twice fled from the tyranny; so that in 33 years he governed only 17, and his sons 18 years; so that the total is 35 years.” This seems to explain the 36th year of Herodotus, and to shew that he meant only those years when they were tyrants, excluding the time of their exile; for the whole space in Aristotle is 51 years. Eratosthenes and the Parian Chronicle fix the same space of time, or very nearly; and their authority becomes more respectable as they approach nearer their own times. The conference of Croesus with Solon is very reconcileable with this date; for Solon travelled from Athens when *Pisistratus* seized the power; viz. about 559 before Christ; and Croesus mounted the throne two years after, in 557. All agree that Solon travelled at least two years; and the ostentatious display which Croesus made of his wealth, may accord as well with his accession to a rich kingdom, as to the close of his reign, where Sir Isaac Newton places it. In this manner have I endeavoured to fix this date, on the express authority of Thucydides and Aristotle; which is supported by the direct testimony of the Parian Chronicle and Eratosthenes, and quite consistent with the passage in Herodotus, which is brought to contradict it by Meursius. I know that Clemens Alexandrinus and Tatian mention the name of Onomacritus, as flourishing together with the *Pisistratidæ* about the 50th Olympiad: but if this be granted, might not Onomacritus be known to *Pisistratus* about 20 years before he assumed the tyranny; and this will reconcile these authors with the opinion here adopted.

These two dates being thus settled, we are naturally led to consider some

<sup>a</sup> Ed. Biset. p. 464. The Greek Scholiast makes the power of the *Pisistratidæ* last only 41 years. I cannot find the place in Aristophanes which he refers to, but suppose it to have been a mistake for 51 years by the literal arithmetic. Meursius too censures this passage, and

takes it to be corrupted; nor is it easy to remove every objection, even when he has corrected it.

<sup>b</sup> Meursii *Pisistratus* p. 140. “Valde errat Aristoteles.”

<sup>c</sup> Aristot. *Polit.* l. v. c. 12.



other detached facts relating to Solon, and the family of the Alcmaeonidæ, mentioned by several authors, and particularly by Herodotus; who seems to have a partiality for the subject; probably because Pericles, the chief man in Athens when he composed his history, and certainly the ablest, was descended from Alcmaeon by his mother's side. The first of this name was Alcmaeon, son of Sillus, who was the 4th from Nestor; and, together with the sons of Pæon, the son of Antilochus, the son of Nestor, was ejected from Pylus by the Heraclidæ. These two families settled at Athens, and the former grew into great esteem. The next of this name on record is the last perpetual Archon; but whether he was of the same lineage is uncertain. From this period the history of Athens is very obscure, or rather, we find a total void for a long time. The first fact we know is, that two powerful factions disturbed the republic, the one headed by Megacles, of the line of Alcmaeon, and the other by Cylon, who had a large party on his side. The latter attempted to seize the citadel, but was repulsed; and his associates taking sanctuary, Megacles by a stratagem drew them out, and put them to death. For this violation of religion, he and his party were declared execrable, and after a trial, which they submitted to, by the advice of Solon, were all banished. These dissensions had so weakened the Athenians, that the people of Megara had seized on Salamis, an island belonging to Athens by right, which nearly touched the coast of Attica. Solon advised them to retake it, which was soon effected about the year before Christ 597. This island was soon after lost a second time; but the discontent of the people then rose so high, that Epimenides was sent for from Crete to purify the city in the 46th Olympiad. At this period Megacles, or his party, was returned to Athens; but the stigma adhered to the family for some time after. Solon was appointed Archon, on account of his wisdom and moderation, in the 3d year of the 46th Olympiad; and at that time abolished the laws of Draco, and published his own milder code of institutions. This event happened in the year before Christ 594. At first they seem to have been so ill received, that the legislator himself left the city for ten years. The time of this first secession is not exactly known: but Herodotus must be mistaken in supposing that he then visited Croesus in Lydia, and Amasis in Egypt. If we examine the relation of this historian, Croesus was not king till Pisistratus had assumed the sovereignty; and we know that Solon was in that period at Athens, returned from his first emigration; for we are expressly informed,



he then a second time left the city, and returned no more ; disgusted with the ambitious views of the parties, and the instability of the Athenians. Nor is it probable that any part of the reign of Amasis could fall in with the voyage of Solon ; for the first year of that king is 25 years after the promulgation of the laws at Athens ; and it is generally agreed, his first secession was not long after his being archon.

There is another fact, in which Solon was principally concerned : viz. the reduction of the town of Cirrha. It is well known to most of my readers, that the city of Delphi was not more revered for the oracles there delivered, than for its being the seat of the general assembly of the states of Greece, whose several deputies formed the council of Amphictyons. As freedom of debate is an essential article in such a meeting, whoever attempted to infringe the liberties of Delphi was thought infamous. The people of Cirrha lay under this aspersions ; and the Delphians, by the advice of Solon, laid siege to that city. The oracle, pronounced on this occasion, was obscure and discouraging : viz. that, to ensure success, the sea must wash the territories of Delphi. This seemed impossible ; but Solon raised their hopes by a subtle interpretation, that if they consecrated the territory of Cirrha, and made it a part of Apollo's domain, the sea would then wash the Delphian shores. His advice was obeyed, the city taken, and the Athenian legislator gained the reputation of wisdom, by what would now be thought an act of the most flagrant injustice. The forces employed were quotas from all the states of Greece ; Clisthenes was the generalissimo, and Alcmaeon headed the Athenians. The time of this expedition is more difficult to find than the circumstances of the fact. From some mutilated words in the Parian Marble, the learned have agreed to place it in the year before Christ 591. It is not necessary to oppose this opinion ; but then we must suppose Clisthenes a young man, and Alcmaeon advanced in years ; for the former married his daughter to the great grandson of the latter. The next of this family who is recorded in history, is Megacles, son of the last Alcmaeon, who, about 30 years after, opposed Pisistratus in his attempts to gain the sovereignty. At this time there was another party in Athens, whose leader was Lycurgus, son of Aristolaidas. The collision of these two factions was of great advantage to Pisistratus, who prevailed by superiour abilities, and seized the dominion of the state. The parties of Megacles and Lycurgus immediately coalesced ; Pisistratus was expelled, and declared an exile.

The



The time of this first abdication must be traced from after facts. History informs us, that Pisistratus was twice banished. His last exile continued 11 years, according to Herodotus; and as the duration of the two collectively was 16 years, the former must have been for 5 years. Eusebius, by an obscure date, seems to say the first expulsion of Pisistratus was in the 1st year of the 54th Olympiad: but this was 3 full years before he assumed the power, according to the best authorities. The meaning of Eusebius is indeed uncertain; for his words are, Πεισίστρατος Αθηναίων ἐτυράννησε, καὶ εἰς Ἰταλίαν παρήλθε. The fact is extremely improbable; and yet we cannot suspect a false reading, as the sense of the passage is confirmed by Hierom's Latin version. Wherever Pisistratus retired, the true time must have been about the year before Christ 558.

The rival parties, who united against a common enemy, fell into divisions when left to themselves. Lycurgus prevailed; but Megacles, rather than submit, joined his force to the party of Pisistratus. The scheme laid was an address to the superstition of the people. A report was spread, that Minerva herself in person would conduct her favourite to the citadel. A proper representative was found, the project succeeded, and Pisistratus resumed the power. One condition of the union with Megacles was the marriage of the daughter of the latter with the former. The terms were complied with: but we are told that Pisistratus did not cohabit with his wife, on account of the murder of Cylon's associates by her ancestor: a crime, as he thought, not sufficiently expiated. This fact shews that the Megacles here mentioned was the grandson of him who was declared execrable by the Athenians. The time of his first return and nuptials must be placed in the year before Christ 553, if the former date be right, that is, 5 years after his expulsion. For the subsequent transactions, it may be supposed he now began to build the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and conquered the isle of Naxos.

Here indeed I contradict Eusebius, who places his second return from exile in the 2d year of the 59th Olympiad; and in that case his last expulsion must have been very near his first return: but Eusebius antedates the death of Hipparchus 8 years, and may have deviated as far from truth as to the time of the exile of Pisistratus. The embassy of Croesus to Delphi may be placed in the year 552, at which time the ambassadors were entertained with great magnificence by Alcmaeon, the son of the former Megacles. Some might place it a little higher, during the exile of Pisistratus, because Herodotus says, the Alcmaeonidæ did not reside at Athens during



during the tyranny. But the words of the historian are not to be taken too strictly. He himself tells us, that Pisistratus married into the family of Megacles, and recovered the government by their assistance ; so that it is plain, they resided at Athens for some time. Megacles, indeed, repented the usage of his daughter, when he was informed of it : but the precise time is not known. Suffice it to say, that he and his family were at last banished from Athens : but in the interval between the recall of Pisistratus and their exile, another event happened to this family, which deserves our attention, for its singularity at least, as well as for its consequences. It is related by Herodotus, and, by its simplicity and elegance, seems to authenticate itself. The fact then is, that Clisthenes king of Sicyon proposed his daughter Agarista in marriage to the most deserving of the Greeks. Unfortunately the date is not given us, only it is said to have been after Alcmaeon's reception of the Lydian ambassadors. But if this Clisthenes here mentioned was the same who took Cirrha, as he seems to have been, we cannot place it long after that event. It certainly happened in the 2d year of some Olympiad ; for the king of Sicyon, having gained the prize in the quadrijugal race at Olympia, proclaimed the offer of his daughter Agarista at the games, and ordained that the candidates should appear at Sicyon in 60 days, and submit to one year's trial to determine their respective merits. At the end of this time Megacles, the son of Alcmaeon, had the preference. It may then be conjectured, that these nuptials were celebrated in the 2d year of the 57th Olympiad, year before Christ 550. The Alcmaeonidæ being now greatly exalted, Megacles, the grandfather, relying on the aid of Clisthenes, and actuated by private wrongs, most probably engaged in some unsuccessful contest with Pisistratus, which ended in the banishment of himself and his family. It may be worth remarking here, that Herodotus not only gives an account of Megacles, the favoured suitor, but likewise of the other candidates for Agarista, and from hence we draw some historical anecdotes.

Sybaris was at this time, we find, at the summit of its opulence and luxury, and the city of Eretria, in Eubœa, in a flourishing state. We find too amongst the number Leocides, the son of Phidon, king of Argos ; which words, if taken literally, imply, that the regal title was either not yet abolished in that state, or at least it could not have been long a republic. But the passage is very obscure, as the text of Herodotus now stands ; for the interpretation of it is, that Leocides was the son of that  
Phidon



Phidon who introduced weights, and dispossessed the Eleans of the Olympic games. The learned Musgrave ingeniously supposes that a negative has slipped out of the text<sup>a</sup>; and the relation is indeed so discordant with history, on any system, that we must either admit this emendation, or suppose the word *παῖς* means a *descendant*, but not expressly a *son*. This may seem harsh, but it is countenanced by a passage a little after, when Herodotus names Laphanes the Azanian, *son* of that Euphorion, who, according to report, entertained Castor and Pollux, and from that time had been famed for hospitality. These words must either mean a miraculous appearance of those demigods to Euphorion after their deaths, or during their lives. I should rather suppose the latter; but allowing this explanation to be just, the story is inconsistent with any chronology, unless on the former supposition.

Having possibly digressed too far, I now return to Pisistratus. If his second expulsion was in the year 547, it is clear that his return was effected in 536. Having conquered the Athenian army, and gained admission by uniting force with address, he sent the hostages given by the Athenians to the island of Naxos, then governed by Lygdamis, whom he himself had appointed to that command. This proves evidently, that the reduction of that island was before his return from the second expulsion; but not when he first assumed the tyranny; for at that time he was too much embarrassed by domestic factions, and too soon ejected from the city, to allow the supposition of so distant a conquest. If this be granted, we have no other alternative but that of its happening after his return from his first exile.

The remainder of Pisistratus's government is marked by a mild and beneficent administration; attentive to the civil order of the state, and the encouragement of arts and learning. Solon and he were the first who collected the poems of Homer. Others ascribe it to Hipparchus, his son: but A. Gellius<sup>b</sup> and Isidorus are agreed, he was really the first who established a public library in Greece. The only objects of his resentment were the Alcmaeonidæ, now banished: but the effects of this resentment were felt more severely by them under the government of his sons: for

<sup>a</sup> See Herod. l. vi. c. 126, 127. The words are, Φεῖδωνος παῖς Λεωκίδης· Φεῖδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα, κ. τ. λ. Musgrave reads Φεῖδωνος δὲ οὗ τὰ μέτρα, κ. τ. λ. The corrections of Palmerius and Gronovius

are more violent. See the note in Wesseling.

<sup>b</sup> A. Gellius, l. vi. c. 17. Isidorus as quoted by Meursius, l. viii. c. 3.



Isocrates (the only author who has preserved the anecdote) <sup>a</sup> says in direct words, that when these divisions in the state had continued 40 years, the tyrants overthrew the houses and even the sepulchres of the Alcmaeonidæ. If so, Pisistratus died at least 6 years before these facts could have happened, which were certainly the consequence of some new attempts of that family to overturn the power of Hippias, or Hipparchus. For the remaining years of Pisistratus's life we have no particular events; for though he took Sigeum by war, the time is not fixed; but in general it seems clear that he confirmed his power by mild exertions to his death, which happened about the year before Christ 527, leaving 3 sons, Thessalus, Hippias, and Hipparchus.

Nothing shews more the uncertainty of the Athenian history, than the various accounts given by old writers which of these three was the eldest. Thucydides, after a careful enquiry, declares for Hippias; but he produces so many reasons in support of that opinion, as evidently shew it was a doubtful fact in his time; and yet he was born but about 46 years after the extinction of the tyranny. Plato, on the other hand, gives it as positively that Hipparchus was the elder brother <sup>b</sup>. For the latter writers, they take either opinion, as it best suits their argument, and on that account need not be quoted. This obscurity could hardly have arisen but from one circumstance; that the brothers acted conjointly, taking different departments, but all uniting in one scheme of government <sup>c</sup>. Of Thessalus we know little; Hipparchus is celebrated for establishing games in honour of Homer, and for inviting Anacreon and Simonides to Athens. In politics we can only say, that the patronage of the city of Plataea was undertaken in the 9th year after the death of Pisistratus, and consequently while his sons held the power. We are too informed, that the Pisistratidæ were in alliance with Sparta; but the time is uncertain. This alliance was entered into from political motives (as Herodotus says), the Athenians being less formidable under their tyrants than when a free people. The worst act of cruelty recorded during their administration was the murder of Cimon, the father of the great Miltiades. It seems to have been effected by treachery, and the cause is not

<sup>a</sup> Isocrates *περὶ τοῦ ζεύγους*, p. 838. Ed. Basil.

<sup>b</sup> Plato's dialogue, entitled Hipparchus.

<sup>c</sup> A parallel example is in the history of

Milan. After the death of the archbishop Visconti, his three nephews jointly governed that duchy.

mentioned;



mentioned ; but it happened, most probably, soon after the death of Pisistratus. During all this time the Alcmaeonidæ lived in exile, supported by their wealth and connections, and eager to deliver their country from the yoke. The alliance with Sparta was an invincible bar to their attempts; but after the death of Hipparchus in the year 513 before Christ, their exertions were more frequent. The temple of Apollo at Delphi had been burnt about 35 years, and was not yet rebuilt. To bring over the states of Greece, they offered to repair it, and executed the work with far more magnificence than they contracted for, giving it a front of Parian marble. The Oracle was induced, by this and other presents, to favour their cause, and repeatedly invited the Spartans to restore Athens to its liberty. Superstition counteracted policy ; the alliance with the sons of Pisistratus was dissolved, and Anchimolius, a Spartan, was commissioned to assist the Alcmaeonidæ in restoring the old government. These troops were sent by sea, and consequently unprovided with cavalry. Hippias, having therefore hired a body of Thessalian horse, soon baffled this ill concerted attack. Soon after, however, Cleomenes, king of Sparta, marched by land ; and the Pisistratidæ, being defeated, retired to the Pelasgian wall, where, being well provided, they might have defended themselves till famine had obliged their enemies to retreat. An accident, however, brought about the desired revolution. The sons of Hippias were taken by the Spartans, and the unhappy father consented to abdicate the power, to recover his family. The conditions were accepted, and the Alcmaeonidæ had the glory of restoring the republic in the year before Christ 510. Hippias acted with severity at Athens, after his brother's assassination, and was consequently hated in the city ; yet his personal qualities and his wealth procured him friends in other parts. The states of Thessaly offered him Iolcos for his residence, a city on the Pelasgic gulf ; and Amyntas, king of Macedonia, Anthemus, an inland town. He preferred, however, a settlement at Sigeum in Asia Minor, which his father had conquered, and which was then governed by his natural brother, Hegesistratus. Besides, he had a secondary motive ; being in strict alliance with Æantides tyrant of Lampascus, a neighbouring city, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage.

The power of Athens increasing fast when the tyranny was dissolved, the Spartans soon repented of their interference. On further enquiry the corruption of the priests of Delphi being detected ; they began to pity

S

Hippias.



Hippias, and their feelings were aggravated by the consideration of the strict friendship which he had always maintained with their country. They sent for him to Sparta, and proposed his case to the Grecian deputies; but as the Corinthians opposed it (and that small republic, by its local situation on the Isthmus, had great weight), Hippias was sent back; and we hear no more of him, till the message of Artaphernes, the Persian governor of Sardes, to the Athenians, who *commanded* them to receive him. This fell out in the year before Christ 503. Something else is related of him afterwards in the Parian Chronicle; but the inscription is so deficient, that none of the commentators have ventured to explain it. Whatever it was, it is fixed to be about the year before Christ 495, by Dr. Prideaux, and probably means no more than his retiring to the court of Persia, to instigate that monarch to the Grecian wars. Herodotus is silent as to the death of Hippias. Justin and Cicero say he was killed on the plains of Marathon. Suidas says he escaped to Lemnos, and died there. If he was near a hundred years old, as Meursius supposes, it is very improbable he should be slain on the field of battle. That laborious compiler justly concludes, Hippias was come to man's estate when Pisistratus first assumed the power; but then, by extending the duration of the sons of Pisistratus to 33 years instead of 18, he forces up the first date beyond what the best and oldest historians allow. We have before shewn that the whole space of the tyranny was but 51 years, and consequently have no reason to say Hippias was much more than 80, at the time of the battle of Marathon; but he could not be much less, being capable of assisting his father, with his advice, at his first return from exile in the year 554, viz. 64 years preceding his death. In this detail of facts, some of the dates are allowed to be conjectural; but the accession of Pisistratus, his death, and the expulsion of Hippias, are well ascertained; and the intermediate dates, if the facts are placed in right order, cannot be very erroneous.

Let us now just mention some other events dependant on the date of the siege of Troy. The three several attempts of the Heraclidæ to recover Peloponnesus are reducible to probability, though not to certainty. We are told that Hercules died 120 years before his posterity recovered their rights; of consequence, I place it in the year before Christ 999. The 1st attempt was that made by Hyllus, before the Trojan war; and might happen near the year 975. The 2d was that of Cleodæus, son of Hyllus,



Hyllus, about 30 years after, viz. in 945. The 3d about the same distance of time, under Aristomachus, the son of Cleodæus, viz. in 915. These attempts were unsuccessful; but the settlement was formed at last by the three sons of Aristomachus in 35 years after. We have it, too, from ancient authority, that Teucer founded Salamis in Cyprus, in the 7th year after Troy was taken, and that the Bœotians seized on the Cadmeis, or citadel of Thebes, in the 60th year from the same era.

These enquiries may now be closed: but as, in tracing chronology, we are obliged to ascend from known facts to others more ancient and obscure, it was impossible to observe the historical series of events. For this reason, the full result of what has been said of the affairs of Greece is, for the reader's ease, displayed in a separate table, in the same order, in which the facts are supposed to have happened.

	A. C.	J. P.	Diff.
* Argonautic expedition, about - - - - -	1000	3714	
* Death of Hercules - - - - -	999	3715	1
* Hyllus, son of Hercules, attacks Peloponnesus -	975	3739	24
* Agamemnon leads the Grecian forces against Troy	970	3744	5
* Troy taken - - - - -	960	3754	10
* Teucer founds the kingdom of Salamis in Cyprus -	953	3761	7
* Cleodæus makes a second attempt on Peloponnesus	945	3769	8
* Aristomachus makes a third attempt to recover Peloponnesus - - - - -	915	3799	30
* Bœotians settle at Cadmea - - - - -	900	3814	15
* Æolic migration - - - - -	884	3830	16
* Return of the Heraclidæ - - - - -	880	3834	4
* The Alcmaeonidæ settle at Athens - - - - -	874	3840	6
* Patræ founded by Patreus, and Agis king of Sparta	856	3858	18
* Death of Codrus king of Athens - - - - -	848	3866	8
* Ionic migration - - - - -	839	3875	9
First Olympiad - - - - -	776	3938	63
First decennial archon at Athens - - - - -	752	3962	24
* Charilaus king of Sparta born, at which time Lycurgus publishes his institutions - - - - -	742	3972	10
* Lycurgus finishes his institutions - - - - -	722	3992	20
* First Messenian war begins - - - - -	669	4045	53
* Alcamenes king of Sparta dies - - - - -	667	4047	2
* Phidon king of Argos expelled from Elis - - - - -	664	4050	3



	A. C.	J. P.	Diff.
About the same time Caranus founds the kingdom of Macedonia - - - -	664	4050	3
* Polydorus king of Sparta puts an end to the first Messenian war - - - -	649	4065	15
* Polydorus slain - - - -	647	4067	2
* Second Messenian war under Anaxander and Anaxidamus, kings of Sparta - - -	610	4104	37
* Perdiccas settled in Macedonia - - -	607	4107	3
* Athenians retake Salamis - - -	597	4117	10
* Epimenides purifies Athens - - -	595	4119	2
Solon publishes his laws, being archon this year -	594	4120	1
* Second Messenian war ended - - -	593	4121	1
Cirrha taken by the Amphictyons - - -	591	4123	2
* Solon's first departure from Athens - - -	590	4124	1
Messenians settle at Zancle in Sicily - - -	589	4125	1
Solon's first return - - -	579	4135	10
Pisistratus seizes on the sovereignty of Athens -	561	4153	18
Solon retires about - - -	559	4155	2
Solon's visit to Croesus - - -	558	4156	1
Soon after which he died. Pisistratus' first expulsion the same year			
* First return of Pisistratus - - -	553	4161	5
* Alcmaeon receives the ambassadors of Croesus -	552	4162	1
* Naxos reduced by Pisistratus about the same time			
* Megacles married to Agarista, daughter of Cleisthenes	550	4164	2
Alcmaeonidae banished - - -	549	4165	1
* Pisistratus expelled a second time - - -	547	4167	2
Second return - - -	536	4178	11
Death of Pisistratus - - -	528	4186	8
Hippias and Hipparchus take the government			
Treaty of confederacy between Athens and the city of Plataea - - -	519	4195	9
Death of Hipparchus - - -	513	4201	6
Hippias expelled - - -	510	4204	3
* Artaphernes, the Persian governor in Lydia, endeavours to restore Hippias about the year -	502	4202	8
Battle of Marathon and death of Hippias - - -	490	4224	12
Battle of Thermopylae - - -	480	4234	10

Thus



Thus from the death of Hercules to the battle of Thermopylæ are 519 years; from the taking of Troy to the same date are 480 years; from the death of Codrus 368 years; but from the death of Codrus to the first decennial archon are but 96 years. This last date will be objected to by many; for as Eusebius gives us the names of 13 perpetual archons who succeeded Codrus, we cannot allow an average of quite 7 years 5 months to each. Before the reader determines, let him again inspect the list of perpetual archons, given some pages before, and from thence it may seem plain, that, if the catalogue of the Spartan kings be right, that of the perpetual archons must be wrong. Now we have no reason to doubt the authenticity of the Spartan pedigree in either line; for the facts recorded of them are perfectly consistent with each other. On the contrary, the history of Athens is wholly destitute of events during these times. From the accession of Menestheus to the death of Codrus, we have a sufficiency of facts to ground an acquiescence in the whole series of kings: but from thence to the decennial archons (a space, according to Eusebius, of 316 years), no one event is mentioned by any historian, except the Ionic migration under Nileus, in the archonship of Medon. Can we suppose that a rising state had no troubles for more than 3 centuries; or that the same tradition, which preserved the names and the duration of the power of each archon, should be totally silent as to wars and revolutions, to their civil and political history? For this reason, the existence of some of these perpetual governours may be doubted. Pausanias, that diligent enquirer into Attic antiquities, names no more than Medon; and just hints, that some time elapsed between the death of Codrus and the election of decennial archons<sup>a</sup>. Paterculus, in like manner, acknowledges Medon as first perpetual archon; but drops the history there, only adding, that the Medontidæ held that honour as low down as Charops<sup>b</sup>. Not that it is required to disbelieve the whole: but whether these archons were not sometimes deposed by the violence of the people, though elected for life; whether some of them did not, like the sons of Pisistratus, govern the

<sup>a</sup> Paus. l. iv. p. 226. "Υστερον δὲ καὶ προθεσμίων ἐτῶν δέκα ἔποισαν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς. If we examine too his first book of Attic antiquities (p. 5.) he seems to despise the genealogies of the Athenians; most of them, as he affirms, being derived from choral songs or tragedies. He does not allow any genealogy except from Melanthus

to Clidicus, and of that he seems to doubt.

<sup>b</sup> Vell. Paterc. l. i. c. 2. Sigonius also, an accurate and learned enquirer into ancient history, has these words, on this very period, *obscurissima tempora factaque sunt*. De Repub. Athen. p. 566.



state conjointly, is not to be discovered at this distance of time. The decennial archons are admitted into the tables on the authority of Eusebius, though authors differ about the dates of several. Pausanias places the 5th year of Æfimesdes in the 2d year of the 9th Olympiad, just 6 years higher than the author aforementioned. Suidas too informs us, that Hippomenes, one of the number, was deposed for his cruelty, before his time was expired; whereas Eusebius gives him his full quota of 10 years. From hence it is plain, that though we cannot speak with certainty about these remote ages, even in relation to Greece in general, yet the history of Athens is the darkest of all. The truth seems to be, that having placed the war of Troy too high, and the election of the first annual archon being a date they were all agreed in, the chronologists were obliged to fill up the interval with such names as they could find. To corroborate this opinion, let us consult the funeral orations of Lysias and Plato, which are fine panegyrics on the history of the Athenians; and most of the great actions of their ancestry are recorded by one or other of these authors. Now the former starts immediately from the death of Hercules to the battle of Marathon, and Plato from the days of Eumolpus to the reign of Cyrus. Why was the intermediate space omitted by both these writers? All that can be said is, that the whole is uncertain; but, if the time of the perpetual archons be contracted to about one century, the difficulty resulting from their silence will receive a more easy solution.



# **CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.**



Julian Period	Years of Sol.	Solomon reigned 40 Years.	Years of Hir	Hiram, King of Tyre. His 12th Year corresponds with the 4th of Solomon. JOSEPHUS.	A. C.
3703	1	The Lord appears to Solomon in Gibeon. 1 Kings, ch. iii.	9	Hiram, in friendship with Solomon, sends him artificers.	1011
3704	2		10		1010
3705	3	N. B. The dominion of Solomon was from Egypt to the Euphrates.	11		1009
3706	4		12	N. B. Tyre had now been founded 240 years. JOSEPH. ANTIC. l. 8.	1008
3707	5	Temple of Solomon founded this year, 21 April.	13		1007
3708	6		14		1006
3709	7		15		1005
3710	8		16		1004
3711	9		17		1003
3712	10		18		1002
3713	11	This year, 8th month, the Temple finished. 1 Kings, ch. vi. ver. 37, 38.	19		1001
3714	12		20	Argonautic expedition about this time. *	1000
3715	13		21	Death of Hercules just 120 years before the return of the Heraclidæ. PATERC. *	999
3716	14		22		998
3717	15		23		997
3718	16		24		996
3719	17		25		995
3720	18	The Queen of Sheba's visit about this time.	26		994
3721	19		27		993
3722	20	Solomon's palaces finished.	28		992
3723	21	Solomon begins to build the cities in the wilderness. 1 Kings, ch. ix. Has a fleet at Eziongeber.	29	Hiram receives 20 cities in Galilee from Solomon. 1 Kings, ch. ix. ver. 11.	991
3724	22		30		990
3725	23		31	He joins with him in the commerce on the Red Sea. 1 Kings, ch. ix. ver. 26—28.	989
3726	24		32		988
3727	25		33		987
3728	26		34	Hiram dies, aged 53.	986
3729	27		1	Balcazar, son of Hiram, succeeds.	985
3730	28		2		984
3731	29		3		983
3732	30		4	Theseus expelled from Athens. Menestheus reigns.	982
3733	31	Solomon, in the latter part of his reign, apostatized from the true God; time uncertain.	5		981
3734	32		6		980
3735	33	God raises up enemies to Solomon; Rezon, who reigned in Damascus; Hadad, king of Edom; and Jeroboam, of the tribe of Ephraim.	7	Balcazar dies, aged 43.	979
3736	34		1	Abdastratus succeeds.	978
3737	35		2		977
3738	36		3		976
3739	37		4	Hyllus' first attack on Peloponnesus. He is slain.	975
3740	38		5		974
3741	39		6		973
3742	40		7		972



J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3743	Rehoboam ascends the throne after the death of Solomon, being 40 years old. After the revolt of Jeroboam, he fortifies 15 cities. 2 Chron. ch. xi. ver. 5—10.	1	1	Jeroboam revolts from Rehoboam, and carries with him ten tribes; sets up the golden calves in Dan and Bethel. The Levites, and those who were inclined to follow the Lord, abandon Jeroboam, and settle in Judah and Benjamin. There was war between the two kings all their days.	1
44		2	2		2
45	Rehoboam walked in the way of David and Solomon for three years, and the kingdom was strengthened. 2 Chron. ch. xi. ver. 17.	3	3	Very early in this reign a prophet was sent to Jeroboam, foretelling that a future king of Judah, Josiah by name, should destroy the altar at Bethel; which happened 351 years after. To confirm the belief of the Israelites in this prediction, Jeroboam's hand withers, which is restored by the prophet's prayers, and the altar is split. 1 Kings, ch. xiii. ver. 1—6.	3
46	Rehoboam and his people began to forsake the Lord about this time.	4	4		4
47	God provoked sends Shishak, king of Egypt, with 1200 chariots and 60,000 horsemen, and people without number, who spoil Jerusalem. The people repenting are saved, but made tributary. 2 Kings, ch. xiv. ver. 25. 2 Chron. ch. xii.	5	5		5
48		6	6		6



Contemporary Princes.	Contemporary Events.	Tyrian Annals.	A.C.
Shishak, king of Egypt. This is supposed by Josephus to be the same with the Sesostris of Herodotus.	The family of the Heraclidæ had now governed Lydia 249 years. It began with Argon, and ended with Candaules. HEROD.	8] ABDASTRATUS. Tlepolemus, son of Hercules, being banished Argos, flies to Rhodes, where he is elected their chief. DIOD.	971
Priam, king of Troy, a prince of great wealth. His allies were the states of Asia Minor, as far as Caria and Lycia. See HOMER. IL. II.	The War of Troy. * Vide PREF. For the contemporary princes of Greece, see Homer.	9] Dies, aged 29. Tlepolemus follows Agamemnon to Troy; during which time Butas governs Rhodes. DIOD.	970
Cinyras, at this time, king of Cyprus, or part of it. HOMER.	It appears from him, Orestes, son of Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, was now born. Nestor was king of Pylos; Menelaus of Sparta.	1] Eldest son of the nurse of Abdastatus reigns after him, having conspired with three brothers against the former king.	969
Shishak, king of Egypt, ruled over Lydia and Ethiopia. He prepares to take advantage of the division of the kingdom of Judea.	The dominion of Agamemnon was the greatest, extending from Argos to Corinth and Sicyon.	2] The race of the Heraclidæ now reigned in Lydia, having been settled there about 252 years; and continued 253 years longer. HEROD.	968
Shishak takes Jerusalem. It is not said whether he returned to Egypt, or proceeded to other conquests.	The sons of Theseus, Acamas and Demophoon, were settled in Eubœa after their father's banishment, and attended the Trojan war under Elephenor. Tisamenus not yet of age to take the kingdom of Thebes. He was the son of Theseus, and grandson of Polynices. Peneleos leads the Bœotians against Troy.	3]	967
Sanchoniathon the Phœnician is said to have flourished during the war of Troy. * SUIDAS.		4]	966



J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3749	REHOB O A M.	7	7	J E R O B O A M. Jeroboam about this time builds Shechem in Mount Ephraim, and Penuel in the tribe of Gad.	7
5 <sup>0</sup>		8	8	About this time Abijah, the son of Jero- boam, being sick, Ahijah the prophet foretells his death, which accordingly happens; and that Abijah should be the only one of Jero- boam's family, who should die a natural death. 1 Kings, ch. xiv. ver. 13.	8
5 <sup>1</sup>		9	9		9
5 <sup>2</sup>		10	10		10
5 <sup>3</sup>		11	11		11
5 <sup>4</sup>		12	12		12
5 <sup>5</sup>		13	13		13
5 <sup>6</sup>		14	14		14



Contemporary Princes.	Contemporary Events.	Tyrian Annals.	A. C.
		5]	965
		6]	964
		7]	963
		8]	962
		9]	961
Menestheus, king of Athens, died on his return from the siege of Troy, having reigned 23 years. Demophoon, the son of Theseus, succeeds. We shall give the succession of kings to Codrus; though it is not affirmed they are placed in exact order of time, but	Troy taken. * Agamemnon slain on his return by Egiphtus, who reigns after him seven years. HOMER'S OD. PATERC.	10] Peneleus, king of Bœotia, slain at Troy by Eurypilus, son of Telephus; who is said also to have slain Machaon. PAUSAN.	960
1] depend on the conjectural date of the taking of Troy. See PREF.	Agapenor, general of the Arcadians in the Trojan war, is driven by a storm on the island of Cyprus, where he settles a colony, calls the place Pa- phos, and builds a temple to Venus on a situation called before Golgi. PAUSAN.	11] Virgil seems to contradict this tradition of the death of Peneleus.	959
2]		12]	958

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3757	REHOBAM.	15	15	JEROBOAM.	15
58		16	16		16
59		17	17	There was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all the days of his life. 1 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 6.	17
60	Rehoboam dies. Abijam, or Abijah, succeeds his father in the 18th year of Jeroboam, whom he defeats, and takes from him Bethel, Jeshanah, Ephraim. 2 Chr. ch. xiii. ver. 19.	1	18	Jeroboam leads a vast army against Abijam, but is defeated with great slaughter, and does not rise up against Judah any more; though the war is continued. 1 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 6.	18
61	Abijam, about this time probably, began to forsake the true God, as his father had done. 1 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 3.	2	19		19
62	Abijam dies at the end of his 3d year. Succeeded by Asa his son. 1 King. ch. xv. ver. 9.	3	20		20
63	A S A. In the beginning of his reign he destroys idolatry, overturns the images and altars, cuts down the groves, and commands Judah to return to the Lord. 2 Chr. ch. xiv. ver. 1—5. He likewise builds fenced cities, for the land had rest. Ibid. ver. 6. He removes Maachah his mother from being queen. 1 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 13. but the high places were not taken away. Ibid. ver. 14.	1	21		21
64		2	22] 1	Jeroboam dies. Nadab reigns to the 3d year of Asa.	22



Athenian Annals.	Contemporary Events.	Tyrian Annals.	A.C.
3]	Hippothous governed Arcadia on the flight of Agapenor. Pausanias names his descendants to the 11th generation as reigning in Arcadia.	1] Astartus, son of Delaiastartus.	957
4] Ajax of Salamis, son of Telamon, kills himself after Troy was taken. Philæus and Euryfaces, his sons, some time after incorporate with		2]	956
5] the Athenian government; and Salamis is now united to Athens. PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF SOLON.	About this time Cylarabes, son of Sthenelus, king of Argos, dies without issue. The Argives choose Orestes for king. PAUSAN. *	3]	955
6]	Teucer founds Salamis, in Cyprus. Æneas lands in Italy. This depends on the former date. *	4]	954
7] It appears that the king of Syria, Jabrimon, son of Hezion, and the father of Benhadad, had an alliance with Abijah. See 2 Chr. ch. xvi. ver. 3.	Ifocrates supposes the kings of Cyprus, in his own time, were descended from Teucer. See his NICOCLES and EVAGORAS.	5]	953
8] Clytemnestra, the widow of Agamemnon, who had married Ægisthus, is murdered with her husband, by Orestes.	About this time Orestes slays Ægisthus, being now about 20 years old. He reigned 70 years. PATERC. Others make Ægisthus reign 10 years.	6] Nicosthratus and Megapenthes, natural sons of Menelaus, seem to have claimed the crown of Sparta, but are rejected. PAUSAN.	952
9] The wars in Latium were to last three years, so that Æneas was now fully settled. *	Orestes gained the crown of Sparta by the aid of Arcadians and Phocians; but the Spartans did not oppose him. PAUSAN.	7] A S T A R T U S.	951
10] Alcinous, the son of Naufthous, king of Phæacia at this time. HOMER. *	The return of Ulysses may be placed here. Nestor was yet alive at Pylos, and Menelaus yet reigned at Sparta, according to Homer. *	8]	950

J P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3765	A S A.	3	2]1	N A D A B. Nadab and all Israel besiege Gibbethon, a garrison of the Philistines. He is slain at the siege by Baasha, who reigns in his stead; 1 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 25—28. and slays all the house of Jeroboam, according to the word	23
66		4	2	of Abijah the Shilonite. 1 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 29.	24
67		5	3		25
68		6	4		26
69		7	5		27
70	Jehosaphat born, being 35 years old when he began his reign. His mother's name was Azubah, daughter of Shilhi. 2 Chr. ch. xx. ver. 31.	8	6		28
71		9	7		29
72	The land of Judah had rest the first 10 years of Afa. 2 Chr. ch. xiv. ver. 1.	10	8		30



Athenian Annals.	Contemporary Events.	Tyrian Annals.	A. C.
11] DEMOPHOON.		9] A STARTUS.	949
12]		10]	948
13]		11]	947
14]		12] Aged 54.	946
15]	The second attempt made by the Heraclidæ under Cleodæus, son of Hyllus, which does not succeed. *	1] ASERYMUS, brother to the late king.	945
16]		2]	944
17]		3]	943
18]		4]	942

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3773	A S A. About this time must have happened the invasion of Zerah, the Ethiopian, who came with a million of men and 300 chariots. They are smitten before Afa and Judah, and pursued to Gerar, a city of the Philistines.	11	9	B A A S H A.	31
74	2 Chr. ch. xiv. ver. 9—15. This certainly was before the 15th of Afa.	12	10		32
75		13	11		33
76		14	12		34
77	Third month of this year, Afa, by the advice of Azariah, son of Oded, makes a more entire reformation of religion. 2 Chr. ch. 15. Cuts down and burns the idol of Maachah his mother. Ibid. ver. 16.	15	13	Many out of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Simeon, come over to Afa, 2 Chr. ch. xv. ver. 9. which provoked Baasha to build a fortress, to prevent the migration.	35
78	Afa sends treasures to Benhadad, to break his league with Baasha, in the 36th year from the division of the kingdoms, and with the materials of Ramah builds Geba and Mizpah. 2 Chr. ch. xvi. ver. 4—6.	16	14	Baasha, king of Israel, comes up against Judah, and builds Ramah; but is diverted from pursuing it. Benhadad takes from him Ijon, Dan, Abel-beth-maachah, Cinneroth, Naphtali. 1 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 20.	36
79	From this time there was war between Afa and Baasha, 1 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 16. and it may be supposed with success on the side of Afa. Mount Ephraim was now in his hands.	17	15		37
80	Hanani the seer denounces God's anger against Afa for joining with the Syrians, and declares he shall have almost continual wars. Hanani for this reproof is imprisoned, which is the occasion of other acts of violence. 2 Chr. ch. xvi. ver. 7.	18	16		38



Athenian Annals.	Contemporary Events.	Tyrian Annals.	A.C.
19] DEMOPHOON.		5] ASERYMUS.	941
20]		6]	940
21]		7]	939
22]		8]	938
23]		9]	937
24]	Benhadad, king of Syria, dwells at Damascus, the son of Tabrimon, son of Hezion. 1 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 18.	1] PHELES reigned 8 months. 1] ITHOBAL.	936
25]		2]	935
26]		3]	934

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3781	A S A.	19	17	B A A S H A.	39
82		20	18		40
83		21	19		41
84		22	20		42
85		23	21		43
86		24	22		44
87		25	23	About this time vengeance is denounced against Baasha and his house by Jehu, the son of Hanani. 1 Kings, ch. xvi. ver. 1—4.	45
88		26	24] 1	E L A H. Baasha dies in his 24th year. Elah suc- ceeded. Tirzah was now the royal residence. He reigns wickedly. 1 Kings, ch. xvi. ver. 13.	46



Athenian Annals.	Contemporary Events.	Tyrian Annals.	A.C.
27] DEMOPHOON.		4] ITHOBAL.	933
28]		5]	932
29]		6]	931
30]		7]	930
31]		8]	929
32]		9]	928
33] Demophoon, some time in his reign, founded Epea in Cyprus, which was afterwards called Soli.		10]	927
1] Demophoon dies, having reigned 33 years; succeeded by OXYNTES, who reigned 12 years.		11]	926

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3789	A S A.	27	1]2	E L A H. Elah besieges Gibbethon. Zimri, his captain of half the chariots, slays him at Tirzah, in the house of Arza his steward. 1 Kings, ch. xvi. ver. 9. Zimri after seven days is de-throned; but in that time fulfils the prophecy of Jehu, by murdering all the house of Ba-	47
90		28	2	asha. 1 Kings, ch. xvi. ver. 11, 12. OMRI, who commanded at Gibbethon, is chosen by the foldiers, besieges Tirzah, and Zimri burns himself in the royal palace. A party is raised for Tibni, the son of Ginath; but Omri pre- vails at last. 1 Kings, ch. xvi. ver. 9—22.	48
91		29	3		49
92		30	4		50
93		31	5	Omri this year reigns alone, Tibni being dead. 1 Kings, ch. xvi. ver. 22, 23.	51
94		32	6	Six years did Omri reign in Tirzah, but now purchases the hill Samaria of Shemer, and builds a city of that name. 1 Kings, ch. xvi. ver. 24. This Omri follows the sins of Jeroboam, 1 Kings, ch. xvi. ver. 26. and seems to have established the worship of the calves by force and by statutes, which Jero-	52
95	Jehoram, son of Jehosophat, born. 2 Chr. ch. xxi. ver. 5.	33	7	boam effected by persuasion and example. Micah, ch. vi. ver. 16.	53
96		34	8		54



Athenian Annals.	Contemporary Events.	Tyrian Annals.	A.C.
2] OXYNTES.	Some time in Omri's reign Benhadad either took, or kept some towns, which had been taken before, from Jerufalem. This may be implied from 1 Kings, ch. xx. ver. 34.	12] ITHOBAL.	925
3]		13]	924
4]		14]	923
5]		15]	922
6]	Ascanius builds Alba 30 years after the settlement of the Trojans in Italy, and about 300 years before the building of Rome, according to Virgil. Most probably this last number exceeds the truth.	16]	921
7]		17]	920
8]		18]	919
9]		19]	918

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3797	A S A.	35	9	OMRI.	55
98		36	10		56
99		37	11		57
3800		38	1]12	Omri dies in his 12th year. AHAB succeeds; marries Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, king of Zidon; worships Baal, and does evil above all that went before him. 1 Kings, ch. xvi. ver. 30—33.	58
1	Afa diseased in his feet, trusts to human aid. 2 Chr. ch. xvi. ver. 12.	39	2		59
2		40	3		60
3	Afa reigns near 41 years complete.	41	4		61



Athenian Annals.	Contemporary Events.	Tyrian Annals.	A.C.
10] OXYNTES.		20] ITHOBAL.	917
11]		21]	916
12] Oxyntes dies, leaving two sons, Aphidas and Thymoetes; the latter illegitimate.	About this time the third attempt is made, unsuccessfully, by the Heraclidæ, under Aristomachus, son of Cleodæus, to recover Peloponnesus.	22]	915
1] APHIDAS reigns but one year, being expelled by his brother Thymoetes.		23] Ithobal was the same as Ethbaal, the father of Jezebel, who reigned, says Josephus, over the Tyrians and Sidonians. By his being called only king of Sidon in the sacred Scriptures, that city was probably superiour to Tyre at this time.	914
1] THYMOETES.		24]	913
2]		25]	912
3]		26]	911

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3804	<b>JEHOSAPHAT.</b> Jehosaphat begins to reign at the end of Ahab's 4th year. He reigns well, walks in the way of David, strengthens the cities and garrisons both in Judah and in Ephraim, which his father had conquered. 2 Chr. ch. xvii. ver. 1—5. 1 Kings, ch. xxii. ver.	1	5	<b>A H A B.</b> About this time Elijah prophesies a famine in Israel. He flies to the brook Cherith, and afterwards to Zarephath, where he miraculously feeds a widow and her son for many days. This famine lasted to the 3d year. 1 Kings, ch. xvii.	62
5	41—43. Yet in the beginning of his reign the people still worshipped in the high places. 2 Chr. ch. xx. ver. 33.	2	6		63
6	In his third year he sends counsellors, and Levites, and priests, to teach the law of the Lord with the book of the law. At this general visitation, we may suppose, the high places were removed. 2 Chr. ch. xvii. ver. 6.	3	7	Elijah, meeting Ahab, challenges Baal's priests to prove their God's divinity. A miraculous fire destroys Elijah's sacrifice. Baal's priests are slain by the Israelites, who repent of their apostasy. Rain is soon after sent. 1 Kings, ch. xviii.	64
7	About this time, on a review of his forces, they were found to amount to, for Judah 780,000, for Benjamin 380,000. 2 Chr. ch. xvii. ver. 14—18.	4	8	Jezebel threatens Elijah. 1 Kings, ch. xix.	65
8		5	9		66
9		6	10		67
10		7	11		68
11		8	12		69



Athenian Annals.	Contemporary Events.	Tyrian Annals.	A.C.
4] THYMŒTES.		ITHOBAL. 27] The famine, which afflicted Israel, also extended itself over Sidon, where it lasted one complete year, during the reign of Ithobal. This Josephus borrowed from Menander, the historian. The time is not exactly	910
5]		28] ascertained; but it must be placed after the first of Ahab, and before the death of Ithobal. As we know from the sacred Scriptures that Zarephath was in Sidon, and that the dearth prevailed there, this strengthens	909
6]	Justin says the Median empire lasted 350 years. This then must have been the beginning: but it is most probable it should be read 250 years.	29] Menander's evidence. JOSEPH. l. viii. c. 7.	908
7]		30]	907
8] Thymoetes expelled by Melanthus, descended from Neleus, king of Pylos.	According to Eusebius, the race of the kings of Sicyon failed in the last year of Thymoetes, king of Athens. The Priests, called Carnei, now took the government. The last king's name was Zeuxippus; the 26th in order. The monarchy	31] This Ithobal, some time in his reign, founded Botrys in Phœnicia, and Auzates in Africa. JOSEPH. ibid.	906
1] MELANTHUS takes the crown by the consent of the Athenians. These dates are placed after Eusebius; but Strabo and Pausanias are both agreed that Melanthus was not king till after the return of the Heraclidæ. See at the Year before Christ 880.	had continued, he says, 862 years; but more probably about 620 years. N. B. This date depends on that of the war of Troy. *	32] Aged 68.	905
2] It is probable that the reign of Thymoetes should be prolonged, and that of Melanthus shortened; but the precise length of each reign is only given by Eusebius, perhaps erroneously. The sum total to Codrus seems to be analogous to the course of nature.		1] BADEZORUS.	904
3]		2]	903

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3812	JEHOSAPHAT. Ahaziah, son of Jehoram, born this year, 22 years before he began to reign; Jehoram being 18. 2 Kings, ch. viii. ver. 26.	9	13	A H A B.	70
13		10	14		71
14		11	15		72
15		12	16		73
16		13	17		74
17		14	18	Ahab, besieged in Samaria, makes humble offers of submission, which are rejected, and new conditions imposed. Ahab, confirmed by God, defeats the Syrians with only 7232 men. 1 Kings, ch. xx. ver. 1—21.	75
18		15	19	Ahab defeats a vast army of Syrians a second time on the plains, and slays 100,000 in a day; 20 and 7000 more are slain at Aphek. 1 Kings, ch. xx. ver. 23—30.	76
19		16	20	Peace between Israel and Syria. Ahab must have seized on Naboth's vine- yard this or the preceding year. 1 Kings, ch. xxi.	77



Athenian Annals and Contemporary Princes.	Contemporary Events.	Tyrian Annals.	A.C.
4] MELANTHUS.		3] BADEZORUS.	902
5]		4]	901
6]	The Bæotians take Cadmea, and settle there, 60 years after the taking of Troy. *	5]	900
7]		6] Aged 45.	899
8] Benhadad, king of Syria, different from the foregoing.		1] MATGENUS, his son.	898
9] Benhadad and 32 kings besiege Samaria, and send an insulting message to Ahab, 1 Kings, ch. xx. ver. 1—3. but are shamefully defeated. This battle was fought on the hills.		2]	897
10] Benhadad humbles himself before Ahab, and is admitted to a treaty of friendship, by granting Ahab some privileges in Damascus. 1 Kings, ch. xx. ver. 31—34.		3]	896
11] Benhadad removed the 32 kings, and put captains in their room, before he ventured a second engagement.	About this time Antefion, the 5th from Oedipus, obliged to fly from Thebes, goes to the Dorians. PAUSAN. *	4]	895

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3820	<b>J E H O S A P H A T.</b> At the end of this year, or beginning of the next, Jehosaphat takes his son Jehoram into a share of the government; probably at the instigation of Ahab, who had done the same. 2 Kings, ch. i. ver. 17.	17	1]21	<b>A H A B.</b> AHAZIAH admitted to reign in his father's life-time; probably when he projected the recovery of Ramoth-Gilead from the Syrians. There was peace with the Syrians this year.	78
21	Jehosaphat, at Ahab's request, accompanies him to Ramoth-Gilead, and hardly escapes with life in the battle. 1 Kings, ch. xxii. ver. 32. 2 Chr. ch. xviii. ver. 31, 32. He refuses joining with Ahaziah in sending fleets to Tarsish. 1 Kings, ch. xxii. ver. 48.	18	2]22	Ahab attacks Syria; breaking the truce in the 3d year. Ahab is slain, though disguised. Ahaziah reigns only part of this year; but for his wickedness is slain by a fall. 1 Kings, ch. xxii. 2 Kings, ch. i.	79
22	Jehosaphat accompanies Jehoram against Moab. Being in great distress for water, Elisha miraculously supplies them on account of Jehosaphat's piety. 2 Kings, ch. iii. ver. 1—21.	19	1	<b>J E H O R A M's</b> 1st year partly falls in with the 18th of Jehosaphat. He invites Jehosaphat to attend him against Moab. The Moabites are defeated. 2 Kings, ch. iii. ver. 21—24.	80
23		20	2	<b>J E H O R A M, or J O R A M,</b> cleaves to the apostasy of Jeroboam, but abandons the worship of Baal. 2 Kings, ch. iii. ver. 12. N. B. Jehoram was brother to the late king Ahaziah.	81
24		21	3	About this time Elisha advertises Joram of all the designs of Benhadad, who was making war on Israel. The army, struck with blindness, is dismissed. 2 Kings, ch. vi. ver. 8—23.	82
25		22	4	Benhadad besieges Samaria; which is wonderfully relieved by four lepers. 2 Kings, ch. vi. ver. 24. and ch. vii. passim.	83



Athenian Annals and Contemporary Princes.	Contemporary Events.	Tyrian Annals.	A.C.
12] MELANTHUS.		5] MATGENUS.	894
13] Edom governed by a deputy, called a king, but under Jehosaphat. 1 Kings, ch. xxii. ver. 47. Jehu the prophet blames Jehosaphat for joining with Ahab. 2 Chr. ch. xix. ver. 2, 3.	Ahaziah sends to consult Baalzebub, the God of Ekron, whether he should die of his fall. Elijah, meeting the messengers, tells them he must die. The two first companies sent to take him are consumed by fire. 2 Kings, ch. i. Soon after, Elijah is translated into heaven, and Elisha succeeds to the prophetic powers. 2 Kings, ch. ii.	6]	893
14] Mesha, king of Moab, subject to a tribute of 10,000 lambs and 100,000 rams, revolts after Ahab's death, but is defeated. The land of Moab and all the cities are destroyed, except Kir-haraseh, where Mesha was besieged. He sallies out against the king of Edom, who joined in the war, but cannot reach him. He then sacrifices his eldest son on the wall; on which the siege is raised. 2 Kings, ch. iii. ver. 26, 27.		7]	892
15] About this time we must place the cure of Naaman, by Elisha; for it was plainly after some great deliverance; which was probably that, when Ahab and Jehosaphat were defeated at Ramoth-Gilead, and when Jehoram dwelt at Samaria, and was at peace with Benhadad. 2 Kings, ch. v.		8]	891
16]		9] Aged 56.	890
17] Benhadad was king of Syria in the 4th of Jehoram, and Hazael king in the 12th year; consequently in this interval we must place the treason of Hazael, as described 2 Kings, ch. viii. ver. 7—15.	The Syrians, when they were miraculously terrified at the siege of Samaria, thought the Israelites had hired the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of Egypt, to attack them; and from thence we may suppose, Egypt was now divided into several principalities.	1] PYGMALION.	889

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3826	<b>J E H O S A P H A T.</b> Jehosaphat seems to have admitted his son into partnership about the end of his 23d year. JEHORAM was 32 years old.	1]23	5	<b>J E H O R A M, or J O R A M.</b> A famine in the land. Elifha advises the Shunammite, whose son he had raised, to retire to the Philistines. 2 Kings, ch. viii.	84
27	The invasion of the Moabites, Ammonites, and Syrians, and Jehosaphat's bloodless victory over them, may be placed here, as it seems customary with the kings of Judah to take a partner in the throne on any great danger. 2 Chr. ch. xx. Jehosaphat settled his 6 younger sons in fenced cities in Judah,	2]24	6	2d year of famine.	85
28	and gave them great wealth. 2 Chr. ch. xxi. ver. 1—3.	3]25	7	3d year of famine.	86
29	Jehoram followed publicly the ways of Ahab, whose daughter he had married; but probably after the death of Jehosaphat. He murders his brethren. 2 Chr. ch. xxi. ver. 1—4.	4	8	4th year of famine.	87
30	About this time Jehoram attacks the revolted Edomites at Zair, and defeats them; but the defection is not suppressed. 2 Kings, ch. viii. ver. 21, 22. 2 Chr. ch. xxi. ver. 8—11. He is rebuked for his sins, by invasions of the Arabians and Philistines, who	5	9	5th year of famine.	88
31	plunder his palace, and leave only his youngest son alive. 2 Chr. ch. xxi. ver. 16, 17. This apostasy of Jehoram was foretold by Elijah the Tishbite, who warned him of it. 2 Chr. ch. xxi. ver. 12—15.	6	10	6th year of famine.	89
32	Jehoram, being now most probably sick, took his son Ahaziah as his partner in the throne, before the 11th year of Jehoram, king of Israel, was expired. 2 Kings, ch. ix. ver. 29.	7	11	7th year of famine.	90
33	Jehoram dies of an incurable disease in his bowels. AHAZIAH succeeds, his youngest son, who, going to Jezreel to visit Joram, and being attacked by Jehu, flies to Samaria; but is found, and slain at Megiddo in his first year. 2 Kings, ch. viii. ver. 25—29. ch. ix. ver. 27. Joash born this year.	1]8	12	The famine being ended, the Shunammite woman has her land and rents restored. 2 Kings, ch. viii. ver. 3—6. Joram is wounded in the battle with Hazael, and returns to Jezreel.	91



Athenian Annals and Contemporary Princes.	Contemporary Events.	Tyrian Annals.	A.C.
18] MELANTHUS.		2] PYGMALION:	888
19]		3]	887
20]		4]	886
21]	Edom revolts from Judah in the days of Joram, and so does Libnah, 2 Kings, ch. viii. ver. 20—22. but not probably till after the death of Jehosaphat.	5]	885
22]	The Æolic migration begun by Penthius, a natural son of Orestes, and finished by Archelaus, his son. * See PREF.	6]	884
23]	Orestes being dead, Tisamenus, his legitimate son, reigns three years, and probably a little more.	7] Carthage founded by Elissa, or Dido, Pygmalion's sister. This date is given by Josephus, from Menander of Ephesus; but most probably badly transcribed for the 27th year. See the year before Christ 863. Joseph. cont. Ap. See PREF.	883
24]		8]	882
25] Hazael, now king of Syria, makes war upon Joram.		9]	881

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
334	ATHALIAH, the mother of Ahaziah, murders the royal family, except Joash, who is saved by Jehosheba, wife of Jehoiada, the High Priest. Athaliah reigns six years complete. 2 Kings, ch. xi. ver. 1—5.	1	1	JEHU, anointed by one of Elisha's disciples, by his order puts Ahaziah, Joram, and Jezebel, and 70 of Ahab's sons to death, and reigns in their place. He destroys the worshippers of Baal, but departs not from the sins of Jeroboam. 2 Kings, ch. ix. ch. x.	92
35	N. B. Jehosheba was the daughter of Jehoram, king of Judah. From the 2d Chr. ch. xxiv. ver. 7. it is conjectured that Athaliah had children before she married Jehoram; so that her murdering the children of the last marriage might proceed from the desire of promoting her own idolatrous offspring to the throne of Judah.	2	2	The succession is promised to Jehu to the fourth generation.	93
36		3	3	Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, descended from Jethro, flourished at the beginning of this reign. His descendants, called Rechabites, are mentioned and praised by Jeremiah.	94
37		4	4		95
38		5	5		96
39		6	6		97
40	J O A S H. Jehoiada, the High Priest, strengthens himself, assembles the Levites, makes Joash king, just seven years old, and slays Athaliah. He destroys the worship of Baal, restored by Athaliah, 2 Kings, ch. xi. 2 Chr. ch. xxiii.	17	7		98
41	As Jehoiada was 130 years when he died, and as his death must be placed at least 2 years, if not more, before the death of Joash, he could not be less than 92 when he effected this revolution, but was probably older. Joash did right all the days of Jehoiada; yet the high places were not taken away. 2 Kings, ch. xii. ver. 13.	2	8		99



Athenian Annals and Contemporary Princes.	Contemporary Events.	Tyrian Annals.	A.C.
<p><b>MELANTHUS.</b> 26] Melanthus, king of Messene, descended from Nелеus, the father of Nestor, driven out of his kingdom by Cresphontes, one of the Heraclidæ, goes to Athens; at which time he expels Thymætes, and is by general consent chosen king. STRABO and PAUSAN.</p>	<p>Return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, who settle there: Cresphontes at Mycenæ, Temenus at Argos, and the sons of Aristodemus, Eurysthene, and Procles, at Sparta; Tifamēnus being expelled. *</p>	<p>10] <b>PYGMALION.</b></p>	<p>880</p>
<p>27]</p>		<p>11] N. B. Aletes, one of the Heraclidæ, seizes on the territory of Corinth, where his posterity reign. He was the fifth from Hercules, through Antiochus, the son of Hercules, Phylas, and Hippotas.</p>	<p>879</p>
<p>28]</p>	<p>Cresphontes married Merope, daughter of Cypselus, king of Arcadia. Laconia was betrayed by Philonomus to the Dorians. STRABO.</p>	<p>12]</p>	<p>878</p>
<p>29] Some time in this reign Xanthus, king of Thebes, is slain in single combat by Melanthus, king of Athens. The Thebans afterwards establish a democracy. N. B. There had been four reigns</p>	<p>Temenus favouring Deiphontes, the fifth from Hercules, his sons slay Deiphontes, and Cifus reigns after his father. The time uncertain.</p>	<p>13] N. B. After the reign of Cifus, the regal power was much curtailed at Argos. PAUSAN. Time not known.</p>	<p>877</p>
<p>30] from the taking of Troy; Tifamēnus, Damastion, Ptolemy, and Xanthus: viz. on an average 20 or 21 years to each reign. Xanthus was the fifth generation from Peneleus, viz. 25 years to each.</p>	<p>Oxylus the Ætolian, being banished, attends the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, and gains Elis for his share. He was the fourth from Andræmon. He performs some games at Elis, which were afterwards revived by Iphitus. *</p>	<p>14] Cornelius Nepos, Apollodorus the grammarian, and Euphorbius the historian, say that Homer began to be known in Greece about this time, viz. 100 years before the first Olympiad, and 124 before Rome, founded accord-</p>	<p>876</p>
<p>31]</p>		<p>15] ing to the vulgar computation. This is consistent with Herodotus's account of Homer. See the year before Christ 845.</p>	<p>875</p>
<p>32]</p>	<p>N. B. About this time Alcæmon, the fourth from Nestor, and the sons of Pæon, in the same degree, fly to Athens, being expelled by the Heraclidæ. These form the two families of the Alcæmonidæ and the Pæonidæ. *</p>	<p>16]</p>	<p>874</p>
<p>33] N. B. The priests called Carnei governed 33 years at Sicyon, and ended this year. Charidemus, being chosen for their chief, resigns. EUSEBIUS.</p>		<p>17]</p>	<p>873</p>

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3842	J O A S H.	3	9	J E H U.	100
43		4	10		101
44		5	11		102
45		6	12		103
46		7	13		104
47		8	14		105
48	About this time Joash, being of age, might most probably apply to the priests to take a strict account of the revenues, and apply them to the repairing the breaches of the Lord's house.	9	15		106
49		10	16		107



Athenian Annals and Contemporary Princes.	Contemporary Events.	Tyrian Annals.	A.C.
<p>MELANTHUS.</p> <p>34] Pausanias says that a king, named Hippolytus, the fourth from Hercules, reigned after Zeuxippus. Succeeded by Lacestades, his son.</p>		18] PYGMALION.	872
35]	About this time, or a little later, Phalces, the son of Temenus, seizes on Sicyon ; but as the former king, Lacestades, was of the race of Hercules, they reign jointly together. PAUS. *	19]	871
36]		20]	870
<p>37] Melanthus dies. CODRUS, his son, seems to have gained the title and sovereignty, by driving the Heraclidæ out of Attica.</p> <p>See STRABO and ARISTOTLE. From hence it will not appear strange</p>	About this time Theras, the son of Autefion, settles a colony of Minyæ and Spartans in the island Calliste, called from him Thera.	21] N. B. In the eighth year of Oxylus, king of Elis, the people of Scyllus build the temple of Juno at Elis. PAUS. *	869
1] that the Athenians abolished royalty soon after ; for even Codrus was elected for his merits, and not as being the son of Melanthus.		22]	868
2]		23]	867
3]		24]	866
4]		25]	865

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3850	J O A S H.	11	17	J E H U.	108
51		12	18		109
52		13	19		110
53		14	20		111
54		15	21		112
55		16	22		113
56	Amaziah born, 2 Kings, ch. xiv. ver. 2. Joash being 23 years old. His mother's name was Jehoaddan of Jeru- salem; so that Joash was not allied to the idolaters.	17	23		114
57		18	24		115



Athenian Annals and Contemporary Princes.	Contemporary Events.	Tyrian Annals.	A.C.
5] C O D R U S.		26] PYGMALION.	864
6]		27] When the historian Josephus fixes 155 years 8 months for the time between the first of Hiram and the foundation of Carthage, he must mean the 27th year of Pygmalion, and not the 7th. The former number is more	863
7]		28] consistent with the history of Pygmalion; now about 36. The city of Carthage subsisted 717 years. Ap- pian, in his history, calls it 700 years.	862
8]		29]	861
9]		30]	860
10]		31]	859
11]		32]	858
12]		33]	857

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3858	J O A S H.	19	25	J E H U.	116
59		20	26		117
60		21	27	Jehu is punished by war for his not following the Lord; but the time of this calamity is not fixed.	118
61		22	28		119
62	Joash, finding the stated revenue insufficient for repairing the Temple, collects a voluntary contribution in a chest. 2 Kings, ch. xii. ver. 6—16.	23	1	JEHOAHAZ succeeds Jehu his father, and follows his example in worshipping the golden calves. 2 Kings, ch. xiii. ver. 1, 2.	120
63		24	2	Hazael reduces Israel so low in this reign by repeated losses, that there were but fifty horsemen, ten chariots, and 10,000 footmen. 2 Kings, ch. xiii. ver. 7.	121
64		25	3		122
65		26	4		123



Athenian Annals and Contemporary Princes.	Contemporary Events.	Tyrian Annals.	A. C.
13] C O D R U S	Patræ founded by Patreus and Agis. *	34] P Y G M A L I O N.	856
14]		35]	855
15] Some time in the reign of Jehu, Hazael, king of Syria, ravages the borders of Israel in Gilead, Gad, Manasseh, and Bashan.		36]	854
16]		37]	853
17] Hazael oppresses Israel in the days of Jehoahaz.	About this time Althæmenes, son of Cifus, king of Argos, led a colony of Dorians into Crete. * STRABO.	38]	852
18]		39]	851
19]		40]	850
20]		41]	849

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3866	J O A S H.	27	5	J E H O A H A Z.	124
67		28	6		125
68		29	7		126
69		30	8		127
70		31	9		128
71	Amaziah was now 15 complete; and as his conduct was at first conformable to the law of God, I do not place the death of Jehoiada before this year; but it could not be long after.	32	10		129
72		33	11		130
73	About this time the king of Judah might begin to listen to the princes, who taught him to worship idols, 2 Chr. ch. xxiv. ver. 17, 18. Jehoiada being dead.	34	12		131



Athenian Annals and Contemporary Princes.	Contemporary Events.	Tyrian Annals.	A. C.
21] Death of Codrus, the last king of Athens, who reigned 21 years. * EUSEB.	About this time Regnidas, the son of Phalces, grandson of Temenus, attacks Phlius. Hippasus, the chief man of the city, resists him, but being obliged to submit, flies to Samos.	42] PYGMALION.	848
MEDON, son of Codrus, chosen perpetual archon. Has some dissensions with his brother Nileus.	Pythagoras the philosopher was descended from this Hippasus. Pausanias names but four generations; but there must have been more. *	43]	847
		44]	846
About this time flourished Homer and Hesiod, who, according to Herodotus, settled the religion of Greece 400 years before he recited his history.	Perfes of Ascra, brother of Hesiod, was likewise a poet. SUIDAS.	45]	845
There is a tradition, that Homer came to Athens in the archonship of Medon; which Herodotus strengthens by this date.	Sofibius, in Clem. Alex. says, Homer flourished in the eighth year of Charilaus, king of Sparta; and if the technical chronology be adopted, of 33 years to a reign, we arrive at the year A. Ch. 847.	46]	844
		47] Pygmalion dies, aged 56.	843
			842
			841

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3874	<p>J O A S H.</p> <p>In the latter end of the reign of Joash, Hazael, having ravaged Israel, and taken Gath, was going to Jerusalem, but is bought off by a present of the hallowed vessels of the temple. The time is not fixed, but Jehoiada was certainly dead before, and Joash had apostatized. 2 Kings, ch. xii. ver. 17, 18.</p>	35	13	J E H O A H A Z.	132
75		36	14		133
76	<p>Joash has many warnings sent him by the prophets; but neither he nor his people would give ear. 2 Kings, ch. xxiv. ver. 19.</p>	37	15	<p>Jehoash admitted to a share in the government. 2 Kings, ch. xiii. ver. 10. This was to retrieve the affairs of the Israelites, who were grievously oppressed by Hazael.</p>	134
77	<p>Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, a prophet, is at last sent, and remonstrates so severely, that the king orders him to be stoned; which is executed in the court of the Lord's House. 2 Kings, ch. xxiv. ver. 20—22.</p>	38	16	<p>About this time Jehoahaz befought the Lord, who gave Israel a Saviour; and the Syrians were removed, and Israel dwelt as aforetime. 2 Kings, ch. xiii. ver. 5.</p>	135
78	<p>This year a small army of Syrians ravages Judah and Jerusalem, and slays the princes of the people, and sends the spoil to Damascus. 2 Chr. ch. xxiv. ver. 23, 24. The Jews, flying to all parts, are sold by the Tyrians and Philistines. Amos, ch. i. ver. 6—9.</p>	39	17	<p>Jehoahaz dies, and is buried at Samaria. 2 Kings, ch. xiii. ver. 9.</p>	136
79	<p>Joash being greatly diseased, his servants conspire, and slay him on his bed. He was buried in the city of David, but not in the royal sepulchre. 2 Chr. ch. xxiv. ver. 25, 26. 2 Kings, ch. xii. ver. 20, 21.</p>	40	1	<p>J E H O A S H his son succeeds. Elisha being now sick, Jehoash visits him, and is promised three victories over the Syrians. 2 Kings, ch. xiii. ver. 14—19.</p>	137
80	<p>AMAZIAH, his son, succeeds, 25 years old, and reigns at first well; from whence we may conclude he was educated under Jehoiada.</p>	1	2		138
81	<p>When established, he punishes the murderers of his father, but not their children.</p>	2	3		139



	Contemporary Events.	A.C.
		840
	<p>The Ionic migration under Nileus, the younger son of Codrus. *</p> <p>Some place this 20 years later.</p> <p>Eusebius mentions a tradition, that Homer returned to Asia with Nileus. Pausanias says, there were other sons of</p>	839
	<p>Codrus in this migration, together with the Thebans under Philotas, the grandson of Peneleus, the Minyans of Orchomenus, and the Abantes from Eubœa.</p> <p>Nileus takes Miletus, and settles</p>	838
<p>Hazael, about this time, might die, and be succeeded by Benhadad the Second, his son, who, at first, might have some success.</p>	<p>there, having slain the males of a Cretan colony.</p>	837
	<p>Aristarchus, an old writer quoted by Eusebius, says, that Homer flourished at this time.</p>	836
<p>Benhadad loses the cities his father had gained, and is thrice beaten by Jehoash. Time not fixed. 2 Kings, ch. xiii. ver. 25.</p>		835
		834
		833

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3882	A M A Z I A H.	3	4	J E H O A S H. Jeroboam, son of Jehoash, had a share in the government; for in one place Azariah is said to reign in the 27th of Jeroboam the Second. 2 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 1.	140
83		4	5	The three victories of Jehoash over the Syrians, are by most chronologers fixed to the 5th, 6th, and 7th years of his reign; but it must be confessed the time is uncertain.	141
84		5	6		142
85		6	7		143
86		7	8		144
87		8	9		145
88		9	10		146
89		10	11		147



	Contemporary Events.		A. C.
Probably at this time Benhadad attacked Jehoash, which was the reason of admitting Jeroboam into partnership.			832
			831
			830
			829
			828
			827
			826
			825

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3890	A M A Z I A H.	11	12	J E H O A S H.	148
91		12	13	The victories of Jehoash must have happened before his 14th year.	149
92	Amaziah collects 300,000 Jews, and hires 100,000 Israelites for 100 talents; but dismisses the latter by the prophet's advice. The Edomites are defeated; and yet Amaziah adopts the Gods of Edom. 2 Kings, ch. xiv. ver. 7. 2 Chr. ch. xxv. ver. 5—12.	13	14	The 100,000 Israelites that were dismissed, being enraged, plunder the land of Judah on their return. 2 Chr. ch. xxv. ver. 13.	150
93	The king, being probably enraged at the ravage of Judea, challenges Jehoash to battle, but is defeated at Bethhemesh, and taken prisoner, as a punishment for his apostasy.	14	15	The king of Israel sends the fable of the thistle and cedar to Amaziah; but being again challenged, he goes to war, defeats him, plunders Jerusalem and the temple. 2 Chr. ch. xxv. ver. 19—24.	151
94	The dates of the facts in the former year are taken from Josephus's Antiquities, l. ix. ch. 9. Azariah, or Uzziah, born 16 years before he began to reign, Amaziah being 39 years old.	15	16	J E R O B O A M II. Jehoash dies this year, and is buried in Samaria. 2 Kings, ch. xiv. ver. 16.	152



	Contemporary Events.		A.C.
			824
			823
			822
			821
By the bitter distress of Israel at the death of Jehoash, one may suppose the neighbouring nations (probably the Syrians) had attacked this kingdom, this or the preceding year, and been victorious. If so, it accounts for the sudden departure of Jehoash from Jerusalem. 2 Kings, ch. xiv. ver. 26. These facts were related in the lost Chronicle of Israel.			820

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3895	A M A Z I A H.	16	2	<p>J E R O B O A M II.</p> <p>Jeroboam II. is raised up as the deliverer of Israel. He restores his country to splendour, as foretold by Jonah, the son of Amittai. He recovered Damascus and Hamath; but the times of these events are not fixed.</p> <p>Josephus supposes the prophet Jonah went to Nineveh in this reign.</p>	153
96		17	3		154
97		18	4	Jeroboam II. follows the example of Jeroboam I. and worships the calves.	155
98		19	5		156
99		20	6		157
3900		21	7		158
1		22	8		159
2		23	9		160



	Contemporary Events.		A.C.
It should seem that Jonah went to Nineveh early in this reign. Nineveh was at that time a great city, in which there were 60,000 that could not discern between their left hand and right hand : but the king is not called king of Assyria, but of Nineveh ; consequently, it was not the capital of Assyria at this time. The first mention made of a king of Assyria is in the reign of Menahem, which began 53 years after.			819
	According to Eusebius, Arbaces the Mede, and Belesis the Babylonian, took Nineveh this year. It is very probable that the kings of Assyria might, from this time, be called Medes ; as may be found in the era of Nabonassar.	Paterculus places Lycurgus about this time ; most probably too high. See PREF.	818
	Eusebius seems to have placed this event too high, as we are obliged, by his calculation, to allow 32 years four months to a reign. See the year before Christ 775.		817
			816
If we follow the analogy of days for years, which is usual in prophecies, the preaching of Jonah was most probably in the 6th or 7th of Jeroboam II. that is, just 40 years before the conquest of Nineveh by Arbaces. See PREF.			815
			814
			813
			812

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3903	A M A Z I A H.	24	10	J E R O B O A M II.	161
4		25	11		162
5		26	12		163
6		27	13		164
7		28	14		165
8	Amaziah is conspired against. He flies to Lachish, but is followed and slain there. 2 Kings, ch. xiv. ver. 19. His son Azariah, or Uzziah, was his successor.	29	15		166



	Contemporary Events.		A.C.
			811
			810
	According to Justin and Syncellus, the Median empire began now, under Arbaces.		809
			808
			807
At this time the Phœnicians were powerful at sea. EUSEB.			806

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I-S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3909	<b>A Z A R I A H, or U Z Z I A H.</b> This king, in the first part of his reign, recovers Elath, on the Red Sea; which must have increased his trade and riches. Having defeated the Philistines, taken Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod, he places garrisons in the country, curbs the Arabs, and Ammon submits to send	1	16	<b>J E R O B O A M II.</b> Amos seems to have prophesied, during the reigns of Uzziah and Jeroboam II. two years before the earthquake, when both kingdoms were in great prosperity. He denounces vengeance against Syria, the Philistines, Tyrus, Edom, Ammon, and Moab. He threatens	167
10	resents. He builds forts in the desert, digs wells, and encourages agriculture. He maintains 307,500 men, and flourishes while he favours religion. He fought God all the days of Zechariah, an eminent seer. The dates of these events are not known. 2 Chr. ch. xxvi. ver. 1—15. 2 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 1—3.	2	17	Israel with being carried beyond Damascus, as they were afterwards by the Assyrians; and declares the destruction of Bethel. Amos, ch. v. ver. 5. Amaziah, priest of Bethel, complains of Amos to Jeroboam; on which it is declared his wife shall be an harlot, his sons and daughters fall by the sword, his land be di-	168
11	The high places, however, were not removed; which implies that the reformation was not so perfect as it should have been.	3	18	vided, and he shall die in a polluted land. Amos, ch. vii. ver. 10—17. From whence it is probable these prophecies were later in Jeroboam's reign; for a polluted land cannot mean Judah; and the first calamity of a foreign invasion was under Menahem; at least 40 years from the 16th of Jeroboam.	169
12		4	19		170
13		5	20		171
14		6	21		172
15		7	22		173
16		8	23		174



	Contemporary Events.		A.C.
			805
		The civil government of Sparta had continued the same for 400 years before the end of the Peloponnesian war, according to Thucydides: from whence it should seem that he places Lycurgus about this time; 40 years after the time, when Herodotus supposes Homer	804
		to flourish. By this computation he reckons 31 years to a generation, if we trust to the genealogy of Leonidas, in Herodotus. Plato fixes it 100 years later; and probably nearer the truth.	803
			802
			801
Paterculus affirms, Capua and Nola were founded this year.			800
Phidon, king of Argos, invents weights and measures. EUSEB. Probably placed too high.			799
			798

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Pre diction
3917	A Z A R I A H.	9	24	J E R O B O A M I I.	175
18		10	25		176
19		11	26		177
20		12	27		178
21		13	28		179
22		14	29		180
23		15	30		181
24		16	31		182



	Contemporary Events.	Lydian Kings.	A. C.
			797
			796
			795
		1] ARDISUS, king of Lydia. This seems to be the first name Eusebius could find; and these 4 reigns are inserted on his authority. They were descended from Hercules, and, according to Herodotus, 22 in number, who all reigned at Sardes; so that there were	794
		2] 18 kings of Lydia before Ardisus; all whose names are lost except Agron, the first of them.	793
		3]	792
		4] SOSARMUS, king of Media, this year. EUSEB.	791
		5]	790

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
39 <sup>25</sup>	A Z A R I A H.	17	32	J E R O B O A M I I.	183
26		18	33		184
27		19	34		185
28		20	35		186
29		21	36		187
30		22	37		188
31		23	38	Hosea prophesied in the days of Jeroboam II. and most probably about this time, when Israel was in a prosperous state, but given up to idolatry. The prediction relates to their several captivities, from Pul to Salmanasar, and to the subsequent state of that very country, under the Gospel. Hosea, ch. i, ii.	189
32		24	39		190



	Contemporary Events.	Lydian Kings.	A. C.
		6] A R D I S U S.	789
		7]	788
		8]	787
		9]	786
		10]	785
		11]	784
		12]	783
		13.]	782

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3933	A Z A R I A H. Hosea prophesied in the reigns of Azariah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, and in the days of Jeroboam II.	25	40	J E R O B O A M I I.	191
34		26	41	Jeroboam dies; but his son, Zachariah, does not mount the throne till the 12th year after his death. Zachariah was the 4th from Jehu; consequently the prophecy was fulfilled.	192
35		27	1	I N T E R R E G N U M. During this time, when there was no set- tled government in Israel, the conquests of Jeroboam were most probably lost; and Da- mascus became an independent kingdom again.	193
36	About this time Jotham, the son of Aza- riah, born; being 25 years old when his father died. His mother's name Jerushah, daughter of Zadok.	28	2		194
37		29	3		195
38 † I. 1.		30	4		196
39 I. 2.		31	5		197
40 I. 3.		32	6		198

† The reader, by carrying his eye along the transverse line, will see that the numbers, which the Author here begins to introduce, are intended mark the Olympiads; the larger figure being the Olympiad, and the smaller the year of that Olympiad.



	Contemporary Events.	Lydian Kings.	A.C.
		14] A R D I S U S.	781
		15]	780
		16]	779
		17]	778
		18]	777
Iphitus establishes the games at Olympia. He was probably the 4th in descent, inclusively, from Oxylus, who assisted the Heraclidæ. See year 876.	According to Eusebius, this was the 2d year of Æschylus, the Athenian archon. If so, the death of Menestheus, and consequently the taking of Troy, must have happened 1171 years A. Ch. See PREF.	19] Eusebius says, this was the last, and 37th year of Alcamenes, king of Sparta; and 325 years from the return of the Heraclidæ. By this account, it is only 105 years inclusively.	776
If Arbaces of Media died in the year A. Ch. 747, and reigned 28 years, we must place the conquest of Nineveh this year. The accession of power would enable him, about 10 years after, to carry on his conquests beyond the Euphrates, as far as Da-		20]	775
masus and Samaria. * See PREF. and the year 766.	N. B. Isidorus Hispalensis places the destruction of Nineveh in the reign of Azariah.	21]	774

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
394 <sup>1</sup> 1. 1.	A Z A R I A H.	33	7	INTERREGNUM.	199
42 2. 1.		34	8		200
43 2. 2.		35	9		201
44 2. 3.		36	10		202
45 2. 4.		37	11		203
46 3. 1.		38	1	Z A C H A R I A H. This king reigns at Samaria, after the Interregnum, but 6 months. SHALLUM conspires against him, and slays him. 2 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 10.	204
47 3. 2.		39		SHALLUM reigns 1 month. Slain at Samaria by Menahem. MENAHEM began to reign in this year, but not at Samaria.	205



	Contemporary Events.	Lydian Kings.	A.C.
		22] A R D I S U S.	773
		23]	772
		24]	771
		25]	770
		26]	769
		27]	768
		28]	767

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3948 3. 3.	A Z A R I A H.	40	1	M E N A H E M. Menahem departs not from the sins of Je- roboam I. He smote Tiphah, and all the coast from Tirzah, and behaved most cruelly to the conquered. 2 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 16— 18.	206
49 3. 4.		41	2	Menahem extorts from each of the chief people of Israel 50 shekels of silver, to pay the king of Assyria.	207
50 4. 1.		42	3		208
51 4. 2.		43	4		209
52 4. 3.	We are told, Azariah, or Uzziah, was struck with a leprosy, for invading the priestly office; and that Jotham, his son, <i>judged</i> the kingdom; but he is not called <i>king</i> . Now Jotham would not have been permitted to act as regent till he was at least 16: conse- quently we cannot place Azariah's offence be-	44	5		210
53 4. 4.	fore the 43d year of his reign; but it might have been later. 2 Chr. ch. xxvi. ver. 16— 21. Ahaz most probably born the 44th year of this reign.	45	6		211
54 5. 1.		46	7		212
55 5. 2.		47	8		213



	Contemporary Events.	Lydian Kings.	A.C.
In Menahem's reign we first hear mention of Pul, king of Assyria, who extorted 1000 talents from that king. 2 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 19, 20. N. B. As, according to profane writers, Arbaces possessed Nineveh, and		29] A R D I S U S.	766
from the sacred Scriptures we know that Pul, at this time, possessed Assyria, it is very probable they are the same person, under different names.		30]	765
	Polychares, a Messenian, victor this year at the Olympic games. PAUS.	31] Eusebius places the foundation of Cyrene, by Battus, in the 4th Olympiad; though he afterwards places it in the 37th Olympiad.	764
		32]	763
		33]	762
		34] MEDIDUS, king of Media, reigned 40 years. EUSEB.	761
The city Aradus founded in an island of that name, off the coast of Palestine. EUSEB.		35]	760
		36]	759

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3956 5. 3.	A Z A R I A H.	48	9	M E N A H E M.	214
57 5. 4.	Ahaz, son of Jotham, born; Jotham being now 22. There are good copies of the sacred Scriptures, which, much more probably, place the birth of Ahaz 5 years before. See WHISTON on Josephus's Antiquities, l. ix. c. 12. § 3.	49	10		215
58 6. 1.		50	1	P E K A H I A H. Menahem dies. His son, Pekahiah, succeeds, who adheres, like his father, to the sins of Jeroboam. 2 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 23, 24.	216
59 6. 2.		51	2	At the end of this year, Pekah, the son of Remaliah, slays Pekahiah at Samaria, and with him 50 Gileadites. 2 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 25.	217
60 6. 3.	This year king Azariah, or Uzziah, dies. Ifaiah sees the vision of the Lord in his glory, and receives his prophetic office from the angel in a vision. Ifaiah, ch. vi.	52	1	P E K A H. This king begins his reign in the 52d year of Azariah. He follows the sins of Jeroboam I.	218
61 6. 4.	JOTHAM succeeds, being 25 years old, and reigns well. Micah, the Morasthite, prophesies in the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah.	1	2		219
62 7. 1.	Jotham strengthens the kingdom with fortresses, and repairs the temple. 2 Chr. ch. xxvii. ver. 1—4.	2	3		220
63 7. 2.	Jotham seems to have reigned in peace, except a war with the Ammonites, whom he reduced to pay tribute of 100 talents of silver, 10,000 measures of wheat, and 10,000 of barley, for 3 years successively. The time not fixed.	3	4		221



	Contemporary Events.	Lydian Kings.	A. C.
		1] ALYATTES, king of Lydia.	758
Eusebius places the 1st Olympiad in the 49th year of Azariah.		2]	757
		3]	756
		4]	755
		5]	754 Alcmaeon last perpetual Archon.
		6] ROME founded this year, according to Varro, near the end of the 3d year of the 6th Olympiad.	753
		7] This CHAROPS was the son of Æschylus, who had been one of the perpetual Archons at Athens. EUSEB.	752 Charops 1st dec. Archon.
		8] ROME founded this Julian year, according to Dion. Hal. about April.	751

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3964 7. 3.	J O T H A M.	4	5	P E K A H.	222
65 7. 4.		5	6		223
66 8. 1.	Some time in this reign we may place the prophecy in the 1st chapter of Micah; for however well disposed the king might be, yet the high places were not removed, 2 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 35. and the people did yet corruptly. 2 Chr. ch. xxvii. ver. 2.	6	7		224
67 8. 2.		7	8		225
68 8. 3.	Hezekiah born to Ahaz in his 12th year. This must be counted from the death of Ahaz, when Hezekiah began to reign alone in his 25th year. More probably Hezekiah was born in the 16th year of Ahaz.	8	9		226
69 8. 4.		9	10		227
70 9. 1.		10	11		228
71 9. 2.		11	12		229



Contemporary Events.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	A.C.
		9] A LYATTES.	750
		10]	749
Many suppose that Pul, father of Tiglath-Pileser, or Pul-Assur, died this year or the next, and left his dominions between Tiglath-Pileser and Nabonassar, who might be his sons.	The year, by which the era of Nabonassar (called also Ptolemy's astronomical canon) is regulated, begins Feb. 26; and as it reckons 365 days to the year, without an intercalation, it differs from the Julian year one day every 4 years.	11] ROME founded this year, according to Fab. Pictor.	748
Tiglath-Pileser is most probably the Sofarmus of Eusebius, who might be so called by the Medes, but bear a different name in Assyria.	1] NABONΑΣΑΡΟΥ. [1 The title of this Canon, in some manuscripts, is Βασιλέων Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μήδων. These words may seem to imply, that the kings of Babylon were descended from the kings of Media and Assyria, and strengthen the opinion	12]	747
	2] that those kingdoms were united [2 under Pul, who had Media by inheritance, and Assyria by conquest.	13]	746
	3] [3	14]	745
	4] [4	1] MELES, king of Lydia, preceded Candaules. Herodotus names him, and says he fortified Sardes.	744
	5] Feb. 25. [5	2] N. B. Pausanias places the 5th of Æfimedea 2d decennial Archon at Athens this year.	743

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3972 9. 3.	J O T H A M.	12	13	P E K A H.	230
75 9. 4.		13	14		231
7+ 10. 1.	If the tribute from the Ammonites was interrupted by the troubles in the beginning of the reign of Ahaz, we must place the war of Jotham against that nation this year, or the preceding. 2 Chr. ch. xxvii. ver. 5, 6.	14	15	Hosea the prophet's 3d chapter seems to foretell the interregnum, and subsequent reformation of many of the Israelites, in the beginning of Hosea's reign. As Judah is not reproved for idolatry, this was probably spoken in the reign of Jotham.	232
75 10. .		15	16		233
76 10. 1.	A H A Z. This is the first year of Ahaz. Part of it probably was jointly with his father, who died in peace in his 16th year. 2 Chr. ch. xxvii. v. 9. Ahaz falls into the worst idolatry.	1] 16	17	Pekah prepares for invading Judah, with Rezin, king of Syria. Isaiah's prophecy against Syria and Israel about this time, ch. viii. v. 1—8.	234
77 10. .	This year he is besieged in Jerusalem by Rezin and Pekah; but it is not taken by them. Ahaz, however, is defeated, and plagued with the Edomites and the Philistines. Zichri the Ephraimite slays Maaseiah the king's son, and others. Isaiah comforts Ahaz by a prophecy. 2 Chr. ch. xxviii. ver. 5—8. 2 Kings, ch. xvi. ver. 1—5. Isaiah, ch. vii.	2	18	Pekah slays 120,000 apostate Jews in one day. 200,000 women and children are taken captives; but, by the advice of Oded, they are relieved and sent home. 2 Chr. ch. xxviii. ver. 6—15.	235
78 11. 1.	Ahaz about this time sends to Tiglath-Pileser to come to his aid, and sends him treasure.	3	19	Tiglath-Pileser takes from Pekah, Ijon, Abel-beth-maachah, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor, Gilead, Galilee, and Naphtali, carrying them captives into Assyria. 2 Kings, ch. xv. ver. 29.	236
79 11. 2.	Ahaz pays a visit to Tiglath-Pileser at Damascus, sees an altar he likes, and makes Urijah, the priest, set up one similar to it in the Temple. 2 Kings, ch. xvi. ver. 10—12.	4	20		237



Contemporary Events.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	A.C.
	6] N A B O N A Σ A P O Y. [6	M E L E S. 3] CHARILAUS mounts the throne of Sparta at this time, if we reason by analogy. * See PREF.	742 Æfmedes, 2 <sup>d</sup> dec. Archon.
	7] [7	4] Lycurgus begins his institutions about this time. *	741
	8] [8	5] Syncellus makes this the first year of Artycas, king of Media. See PREF.	740
	9] Feb. 24. [9	6] Paterculus says, Lycurgus flourished 65 years before the foundation of Rome. This fixes the latter event to about the year 676, if computed from the beginning of his institution.	739
Rezin, king of Syria and Damascus; which probably was recovered by the Syrians on the death of Jeroboam II.	10] [10	7]	738
Rezin marches against Judah, takes Eloth, and plants a colony of Syrians. 2 Kings, ch. xvi. ver. 6. Endeavours to dethrone Ahaz, and set up the son of Tabeal, probably a Syrian.	11] [11 N. B. The colony of Syrians settled at Eloth, continued there till the return of the Jews from Babylon, and probably longer. 2 Kings, ch. vi. ver. 16.	8]	737
Tiglath-Pileser attacks Rezin, and slays him; takes Damascus, and puts an end to the kingdom of Syria, which had lasted about 230 years.	12] [12 N. B. Josephus says, Tiglath-Pileser removed the Syrians of Damascus into Media. Some place only the reduction of Syria at this time; but the death of Rezin some years after.	9] Hosea the prophet seems to allude to the invasion of Tiglath-Pileser, and to promise relief on the 3d day, that is, the 3d year. As Judah was at this time idolatrous, we must place this prediction in the reign of Ahaz. Hosea, ch. vi.	736
Spartans besiege Ithome. PAUSAN.	13] Feb. 23. [13	10] First year of the 11th Olympiad, Thucles leads a colony from Chalcis, and founds Naxos in Sicily. Second year of the 11th Olympiad, Archias leads a colony from Corinth, and founds Syracuse.	735

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3980 II. 3.	A H A Z. Notwithstanding his late deliverance, Ahaz relapses into idolatry, worships the Gods of Syria, and at last shuts up the doors of the Temple for the remainder of his reign. 2 Chr. ch. 28. ver. 23—25.	5	1	INTERREGNUM. Pekah slain by Hoshea, who does not reign till after an interregnum of about 7 years. This was the 20th year from Jotham's accession.	238
81 II. 4.	The 6th chapter of Micah must allude to the reign of Ahaz, who kept the statutes of Omri, and all the works of the house of Ahab. Micah, ch. vi. ver. 16.	6	2	This period was probably one continued civil war, carried on with great cruelty. Ifai-ah seems to allude to it, ch. ix. ver. 20, 21.	239
82 12. 1.		7	3		240
83 12. 2.		8	4		241
84 12. 3.		9	5		242
85 12. 4.		10	6		243
86 13. 1.		11	7		244
87 13. 2.		12	8	HOSHEA is settled in the kingdom; and his reign must be reckoned from the middle of this year. He does evil, but not as the kings of Israel before him. 2 Kings, ch. xvii. ver. 2. Soon after he is tributary to Salmanasar, king of Assyria.	245



Contemporary Events.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	A. C.
The prophet Hosea threatens Israel with destruction, in the same manner as Shalman, i. e. Salmanassar, had destroyed Beth-arbel, i. e. Arbela. From hence, I suppose, Salmanassar was king when this prophecy was uttered. If so, this denunciation cannot relate to	14] NABONΑΣΑΡΟΥ. [14	M E L E S. 11] This 3d year the Israelites, had they repented, would have been relieved. Hosea, ch. vi. ver. 2, 3. The Assyrians were most probably retired; and about this time Salmanassar might mount the throne.	734
Tiglath-Pileser's invasion, but to that by Salmanassar. This too fixes the time of the extension of the Assyrian kingdom between the 6th of Jotham and the 13th of Ahaz. Hosea, ch. x. ver. 14.	15] N A Δ Ι Ο Υ. NADIUS, king of Babylon this year.	12]	733
	16] [2	1] CANDAULES began to reign in Lydia this year. He was, according to Herodotus, the son of Myrsus.	732 Clidicus 3d dec. Archon.
Salmanassar, who most probably reigned at Nineveh at this time, seems to be the Medius of Eusebius.	17] ΧΙΝΖΙΡΟΥ καὶ ΠΟΡΟΥ. [1 Feb. 22. We know not if these names, Chinzirus and Porus, mean two kings reigning jointly, or whether the latter be not an appellative; the word כִּנְזִיר signifying a tiara, or regal ornament.	2]	731
	18] [2	3] Thucles leads a colony from Naxos, and founds Leontium, in Sicily; and soon after Evarchus founds Catana.	730
	19] [3	4] Lamis, a Megarean, founds Thapfus, in Sicily, about this time. ROME founded this year, according to L. Cincius. DION. HAL. l. i.	729
	20] [4	5]	728
This is the first mention of Salmanassar, king of Assyria. He probably had kept Israel under tribute during the interregnum, as his predecessor had done from the days of Pekah.	21] Feb. 21. [5	6]	727

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3988 13. 2.	A H A Z.	13	2	H O S H E A.	246
89 13. 4.		14	3		247
90 14. 1.	HEZEKIAH's 1st year in the 3d of Hoshea. 2 Kings, ch. xviii. ver. 1. Josephus calls it the 4th year; and part of Hezekiah's 1st does coincide with part of the 4th year of Hoshea.	1]15	4		248
91 14. 2.	About the time of Ahaz's death, Ifaiah, this year, denounces judgment on Palestine, bids them not rejoice, though their enemies are broken (viz. Syria and Israel); and against Moab, Damascus, Egypt. Ifaiah, ch. xiv—xix. Ahaz dies in peace.	2]16	5	Hosea the prophet mentions the alliance with Egypt, ch. xii. ver. 1. when they had made a covenant with Assyria. Hoshea seems not to have opposed Hezekiah's reformation.	249
92 14. 3.	Hezekiah reigns alone, being now in the beginning of his 25th year. He follows the true God, and celebrates a most solemn passover; to which the Israelites are invited. 2 Chr. ch. xxx.	3	6	About this time Hoshea makes an alliance with So, king of Egypt, but is defeated by Salmanasar.	250
93 14. 4.	Great corruption prevailed in the beginning of this reign, as is proved by the words of Micah the Morasthite, ch. iii. which the pro- phet Jeremiah applies to this reign, ch. xxvi. ver. 18. It is plain, too, this was one mo- tive for the sudden reformation, as Micah was honoured instead of being punished. The destruction of idolatry extended even to	4	7	The land of Israel ravaged; Samaria be- sieved; Ifaiah's prophecy against those who trusted to Egypt might be delivered about this time. Ifaiah, ch. xxxi. ver. 1—4.	251
94 15. 1.	Ephraim and Manasseh.	5	8	Second year of the siege of Samaria, corre- sponding with half the 5th and half the 6th year of Hezekiah.	252
95 15. 2.	Ifaiah prophesies about this time not only the protection that would be given to Jerusa- lem, but the destruction of the Assyrian army 10 years afterwards. Ifaiah, ch. xxxi. ver. 8, 9.	6	9	Third year of the siege, corresponding with half the 6th and half the 7th year of Heze- kiah.	253



Contemporary Events.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	A.C.
	22] I O Y T A I O Y . J U G Æ U S . [1	7] CANDAULES. Candaules, king of Lydia, purchased a picture, by Bularchus, for its weight in gold, about this time; so that painting was esteemed in Asia about 100 years after the age of Homer.	726
	23] [2	8]	725
According to Pausanias, the first Messenian war ended this year; most probably placed too high. See PREF.	24] [3	9]	724
The king of Assyria most probably received tribute from Ahaz to his death, and from Hezekiah afterwards for some time.	25] Feb. 20. [4	10]	723
SO king of Egypt at this time, who confederated with Israel against the king of Assyria. Hezekiah might now refuse to pay the tribute. 2 Kings, ch. xviii. ver. 7.	26] [5	11] Hosea, the prophet, prophesies against Israel in the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th chapters; after Hosea, the king, was in prison, ch. xiii. ver. 11. and after Hezekiah's reformation, ch. xi. ver. 12. Lycurgus finishes the institution. * See PREF.	722 Hippomenes 4th dec. Archon.
Many of the Israelites were now captives in Assyria, 2 Chr. ch. xxx. ver. 6. carried away by Tiglath-Pileser about 14 years before. It seems from Isaiah, that Moab was to be reduced very low this year. Isaiah, ch. xvi. ver. 14. 3d year after the prophecy.	27] ΜΑΡΔΟΚΕΜΠΑΔΟΥ. MARDOC, or MERODACH, is said to have been the son of Baladan, in the sacred Scriptures. How he succeeded to the throne of Babylon, is not known. Moon eclipsed.	12] About this time, or the year before, Polydorus, king of Sparta, slain by Polemarchus. EURYCRATES reigns after him, being his son. PAUSAN. Cardiceas, king of Media, reigned 13 years. EUSEB.	721
	28] [2 Two eclipses of the moon this year. These three are the oldest on record.	13]	720
Charilaus, king of Sparta, in conjunction with Archelaus, his colleague, takes Ægys. Time uncertain. PAUSAN.	29] Feb. 19. [3	14] City founded in Thafos. CLEM. ALEXAND.	719

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	I S R A E L.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
3996 15. 3.	H E Z E K I A H.	7	Samaria taken by Salmanasar, and the inhabitants carried off; the land lies nearly desolate. The captives are led into Halah and Habor, by the river of Gozan, and into the cities of the Medes. 2 Kings, ch. xvii. ver. 1—6.	254
97 15. 4.		8	The golden calf carried from Bethel. Hosea, ch. x. ver. 6. Tobit carried off with his son Tobias, who lived to see the destruction of Nineveh, dying at the age of 127; so that he might be now about 12 or 13 years old.	255
98 16. 1.		9		256
99 16. 2.		10	N. B. The race of the Heraclidæ, as they are called by Herodotus, had reigned in Lydia, as the same author affirms, 505 years. The first was Agron, the grandson of Belus. There were 22 generations, or reigns, to Candaules, the last king; which is nearly 23 years to a reign.	257
4000 16. 3.	Salmanasar being now retired, if not dead, Hezekiah's successful war with the Philistines may be placed here, as well as his refusal to pay tribute. The time of the last fact is doubtful; but it must have happened either before Salmanasar's invasion, in order to aid his ally Hoshea, or after the departure of the Assyrian army from the land of Israel.	11		258
1 16. 4.		12		259
2 17. 1.		13		260



Contemporary Events.	Era of Nabonassar.		Lydian Kings.	A. C.
Salmanassar had certainly Media at this time. According to Josephus, he conquered Phœnice this year, and besieged Tyre 5 years; which, by its maritime force and situation, preserved its independence.	30]	ΜΑΡΔΟΚΕΜΠΙΑΔΟΥ.	[4] CANDAULES. 15] Charilaus, now reigning in Sparta, (this being the 25th year of his reign) about this time had a war with Tegea, in which he was defeated. The Tegeans erected a trophy, and employed Dædalus, of Sicyon, as the artist. PAUSAN.	718
2d year of the siege of Tyre. ANTIQ. JUD. l. ix. c. 14.	31]		[5] 16] N. B. Sicyon produced artists above 100 years before the foundation of the school of sculpture. This same carver cut human figures.	717
3d year of the siege of Tyre. According to Herodotus, the Heraclidæ, who were also descended from Atys, held Lydia till this time.	32]		[6] 17]	716
4th year of the siege of Tyre.	33]	Feb. 18.	[7] 1] GYGES slays Candaules, king of Lydia, and reigns, the 1st of the Mermnadæ. HEROD. Romulus slain this year. He reigned 37 years. DION. HAL. See the PREF. One year of Interregnum.	715
5th year. The siege of Tyre raised, probably by the death of Salmanassar. ELALÆUS, according to Menander, was king of Tyre, who reigned 36 years.	34]	N. B. About this time Gyges, king of Lydia, sends vast presents to the Oracle at Delphos. A sedition is raised by the friends of the late king, which is suppressed, and the title of Gyges confirmed by the Oracle. He was the first Asiatic prince who sent presents to Delphos. Afterwards	[8] 2] Year of Rome 38. This year NUMA elected king; 3d of the 16th Olympiad. DION. HAL.	714
SENNACHERIB king of Assyria in the place of Salmanassar. He proves a cruel tyrant over the conquered nations.	35]	he made war on Miletus and Smyrna, and took the city of Colophon. The time uncertain. HEROD.	[9] 3] Numa's 1st year.	713
Sennacherib probably the Cardias of Eusebius, and the Artycas of Syncellus.	36]		[10] 4] Glaucus, of Chios or Samos, famous for working in iron at the beginning of Gyges's reign. EUSEB. HEROD. PAUSAN.	712 Leocrates 5th Archon.

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	J U D A H.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
4003 17. 2.	<p>HEZEKIAH.</p> <p>The king, alarmed at Sennacherib's invasion, sends to Isaiah, who comforts him. Hezekiah had offered, as tribute, 300 talents of silver, and 30 of gold, which are accepted: and Hezekiah strips the Temple of its ornaments to pay it. This agreement is broken. Rabshakeh is sent to Jerusalem, and talks blasphemously against the Lord, and excites the Jews to revolt.</p>	14		261
4 17. 3.	<p>Sennacherib being marched against Tirhakah, Hezekiah falls sick; but on his prayer has a promise of 15 years addition to his life. The sun goes back 10 degrees on the dial of Ahaz, and a promise is given, that Sennacherib shall not approach Jerusalem. The angel of the Lord goes forth, and slays 185,000 of the Assyrians. Isaiah, ch. xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxviii. 2 Chr. ch. xxxii. 2 Kings, ch. xviii, xix, xx.</p> <p>This year, or the preceding, Hezekiah receives the embassy from Babylon.</p>	15		262
5 17. 4.	<p>This year, according to Isaiah's promise, the Jews were to sow and reap, which they had not done the 2 years before. 2 Kings, xix. ver. 29.</p>	16	<p>The spoils of Sennacherib had enriched him greatly; and he shews his treasures ostentatiously to the ambassadors, for which he is rebuked by Isaiah; who tells him, all that wealth shall be carried to Babylon, which began to be accomplished about 37 years after, when Esarhaddon took Manasseh prisoner; still more fully in the 104th year, when Jehoiakim was taken prisoner by Nebuchadnezzar. Isaiah, ch. xxxix.</p>	263
6 18. 1.		17		264
7 18. 2.		18		265



Contemporary Events.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A. C.
Sennacherib, the successor of Salmanassar, marches against Judea, takes the fenced cities, besieges Lachish, removes to Libnah, marches against Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia; but, as it seems, does not succeed.	37] MAPΔOKEMΠΙΑΔΟΥ. Feb. 17. [11 N. B. Sevechus, or So, the Sethon of Herodotus, probably died this year. EUSEB. SYNC. See PREF.	5] MYSCELLUS founds Crotona, in Italy, about the 3d year of the 17th Olympiad. DION. HAL. l. ii. Sybaris founded. EUSEB.		711
After his defeat, Sennacherib flies with disgrace to Nineveh, 2 Kings, ch. xix. ver. 36. and grows cruel, Tobit, ch. i. ver. 21. and in 55 days is slain in the temple of Nisroch by Adrammelech and Sharezer, his sons; and Efarhaddon, his son, reigns in his stead.	38] In this year Mardoc-Empadus sends an embassy of congratulation to Hezekiah on his recovery, and to enquire of the wounds. This is the Merodach-Baladan of the sacred Scriptures. 2 Kings, ch. xx. ver. 12. 2 Chr. ch. xxxii. ver. 31. This embassy might not arrive in Judea till the year 39 of the era; for we know from the Canon, Mardoc-Empadus reigned part of the 1st year ascribed to Arki-anus.	6] Adrammelech and Sharezer fled into Ararat, or Armenia; from whence we may conclude Armenia was not part of the Assyrian empire,		710
	39] A P K I A N O T. [1	7] D E I O C E S. [1 About this time Media seems to have revolted from Assyria; for we are told in Tobit, the troubles prevented his going into Media. Tobit, ch. i. ver. 18.		709
From the length of Efarhaddon's reign, we may suppose he was young when he mounted the throne. This will account for his not endeavouring to revenge his father's losses sooner; while the unsettled state of Babylon (where in 30 years there were 5 reigns and 2 interregnums) accounts for that city making no progress in its conquests before Assyria recovered its strength.	40] N. B. According to Herodotus, Sennacherib invaded Egypt during the reign of Sethon; but was defeated before Pelusium.	8] Some there are who make this the 1st year of the reign of Deioces. Herodotus calls his father Phraortes.		708
	41] Feb. 16. [3	9] Diodorus Siculus calls Deioces Cyaxares; and places him in the 2d year of the 17th Olympiad. N. B. Herodotus seems to intimate there had been kings at Nineveh for 520 years before the revolt of Media; but he probably included the 4 reigns of a Median family, who resided at Nineveh. If so, it will lead to the year before Christ 1229, viz. about the time of Gideon, judge of Israel.		707

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign		J U D A H.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
4008 18. 3.	HEZEKIAH. Manasseh born 12 years before the death of Hezekiah.	19			266
9 18. 4.		20			267
10 19. 1.		21			268
11 19. 2.		22			269
12 19. 3.		23			270
13 19. 4.		24			271
14 20. 1.		25			272
15 20. 2.		26		Eusebius places the 1st year of Gyges in the 2d year of the 20th Olympiad.	273



Contemporary Events.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A.C.
	42] A P K I A N O Y.	[4 10] GYGES.	DEIOCES. [4	706
	43]	[5 11]	[5	705
	44] ABAΣIAEYTOY πρ. INTERREGNUM the First.	[1 12] The first triremes were built at Corinth, 300 years before the end of the Peloponnesian war. THUCYD.	[6	704
	45] Feb. 15.	[2 13] Aminocles, the first great artist in ship-building. He lived at Corinth, and built four ships for the Samians about this time. THUCYD.	[7	703
	46] B H Δ I B O Y. B E L I B U S.	[1 14] Suidas says, that Hippomenes was degraded for his cruelty. If so, Apfander should be placed higher. Time uncertain.	[8	702
About this time, according to Diodorus Siculus, the Carthaginians founded the city Erefus, in the island Pityusa, 160 years after the foundation of Carthage.	47]	[2 15]	[9	701
	48]	[3 16]	[10	700
Teleclus, king of Sparta, slain by the Messenians in the temple of Diana about this time, Charilaus yet reigning. PAUSAN.	49] AΠΡΑΝΑΔΙΟΥ. A P R A N A D I U S. Feb. 14.	[1 17]	[11	699

Apfander,  
6th dec. Archon.

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign		J U D A H.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
4016 20. 3.	HEZEKIAH.	27			274
17 20. 4.		28			275
18 21. 1.	Hezekiah dies, having reigned 29 years, and is buried in the chiefest of the sepulchres of David.	29		This year, according to Eusebius, is the last of the 16th Olympiad.	276
19 21. 2.	MANASSEH mounts the throne, being 12 years old.	1			277
20 21. 3.		2			278
21 21. 4.		3			279
22 22. 1.		4			280
23 22. 2.	Manasseh, about this time being of full age, abandons himself to the worst idolatries, like Ahab: makes his son pass through the fire, and sheds innocent blood. Many prophecies denounced against him. 2 Kings, ch. xxi. ver. 1—16. He sets up a carved image in the house of God, and makes Judah to err, and do worse than the heathen. 2 Chr. ch. xxxiii ver. 1—10.	5			281



Contemporary Events.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A. C.
	50] ΑΠΡΑΝΑΔΙΟΥ. [2	18] GYGES.	DEIOCES. [12	698
	51] [3	19] [13		697
	52] [4	20] [14		696
	53] Feb. 13. [5	21] [15		695
Rhegium, in Italy, founded.	54] [6	22] [16		694
	55] ΡΙΓΗΒΟΛΟΥ. RIGEBOLUS. [1	23] [17		693
	56] ΜΕΣΕΣΣΙΜΟΡΔΑΚΟΥ. MESESSIMORDACUS. [1	24] [18		692
	57] Feb. 12. [2	25] Tirhakah, king of Egypt [19 and Ethiopia, died about this time, when the Ethiopian line became extinct; which seems to have given rise to great disorders, which distracted and weak- ened the state for a long time. Euse- bius, Syncellus, and Africanus place 3 reigns between Tirhakah and Psammichus.		691

Eryxias, 7th dec.  
Archon.

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign		J U D A H.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
4024 22. 3.	M A N A S S E H.	6			282
25 22. 4.		7			283
26 23. 1.		8			284
27 23. 2.		9			285
28 23. 3.		10			286
29 23. 4.		11		4th year of the 23d Olympiad, Aristomenes prepares for the 2d Messenian war. Anaxan- der and Anaxidamus, kings of Sparta. PAUS. This seems to be placed too early. See PREF.	287
30 24. 1.		12			288
31 24. 2.		13			289



Contemporary Events.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A.C.
	58] ΜΕΣΣΕΣΙΜΟΡΔΑΚΟΥ. [3	26] GYGES.	DEIOCES. [20	690
	59]	[4 27] Antiphemus of Rhodes [21 and Entimus of Crete, found Gela in conjunction.		689
	60] ΑΒΑΣΙΑΕΥΤΟΥ ΔΕΥΤ. [1 INTERREGNUM the Second.	28]	[22	688
	61] Feb. 11. [2	29]	[23	687
	62]	[3 30] The Medes about this [24 time, according to Herodotus, conquered all to the east of the river Halys, which they held for 128 years; so that Deioces was at this time well settled on the throne. Ecbatana now finished.		686
Chalcedon founded. EUSEB.	63]	[4 31]	[25	685 Tlefiar, Archon, Eryxias dying.
Cyzicus, in Asia Minor, founded. EUSEB.	64]	[5 32]	[26	684
	65] Feb. 10. [6	33]	[27	683

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	J U D A H.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
4032 24. 3.	M A N A S S E H.	14		290
33 24. 4.		15		291
34 25. 1.		16	N. B. It is probable Efarhaddon took Babylon by force, when they had been weakened by civil wars.	292
35 25. 2.		17		293
36 25. 3.		18	NICANDER, son of Charilaus, king of Sparta, succeeds his father about this year. Duration of his reign uncertain. Probably not more than 9 years.	294
37 25. 4.		19	In the reign of Nicander, the Argives are attacked; who afterwards take the city of Asine, which had taken part against them. PAUSAN.	295
38 26. 1.		20	In this Olympiad, the Carneia, a warlike feast, instituted at Sparta. ATHENÆUS.	296
39 26. 2.	Isaiah, the prophet, sawn asunder by Manasseh. CHRON. PASCHALE. This accounts for the immediate vengeance of God by Efarhaddon.	21		297



Contemporary Events.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A.C.
	66] ABAΣIAEYTOY δευτ. [7	34] GYGFS.	DEIOCES. [28	682 Cicon, 1st ann. Archon.
	67] [8	35] Herodotus says, that Se- miramis was 5 generations older than Nitocris, the mother of the last king of Babylon. She must then be placed about this time, and was probably the queen of Efarhaddon, and might repair and enlarge Babylon.	[29	681
It is agreed by all, that Efarhaddon, king of Assyria, got possession of Baby- lon this year; the 31st since the 15th of Hezekiah, when it is probable he ascended the throne of Assyria.	68] AΣΣΑΡΑΔΙΝΟΥ. ASSARADINUS. [1	36] [30		680 Lyfias, Archon.
	69] Feb. 9. [2 N. B. Efarhaddon seems to be the latter Sardanapalus of Callisthenes; a brave and great king, who built Tar- sus and Anchiale, or rather sent colo- nies to those cities, the same day. He is said to have been the son of Ana-	37] [31		679
2d Messenian war. The Spartans be- liege Ira. PAUSAN. Charilaus, king of Sparta, is said to have reigned 64 years, being a posthumous son of the late king. By analogical reasoning, he died this year. *	70] cyndaraxus, which differs but [3 little from Sennacherib. SUIDAS. It is probable these colonies were sent about this time.	38] Gyges dies. [32		678
Paterculus says ROME was founded 65 years after Lycurgus. This then is the year, if counted from the be- ginning of the institution; but most probably placed too high.	71] [4	1] ARDYS, the son of Gyges, [33 succeeds to the crown of Lydia.		677
	72] [5	2] [34		676
The Cimmerians about this time enter Asia, having been expelled from their own country by the Scythian Nomades. They take Sardes, but not the citadel.	73] Feb. 8. [6	3] [35		675

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	J U D A H.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
4040 26. 3.	MANASSEH. About this time, it is most probable that Manasseh was taken prisoner. We are told, the captains of the host of Assyria took him among the thorns, where he had concealed himself, and carried him to Babylon. This	22	The time of the captivity of Manasseh is confirmed by the greater chronology of the Jews, called Seder Olam.	298
41 26. 4.	could not be till a king of Assyria was master of Babylon; consequently it cannot be placed before the 16th year of his reign. It is placed here about the 22d year; as it is probable that Efarhaddon would, in the same expedition, remove the remainder of the Israelites,	23	65th year from Isaiah's prophecy, that Ephraim should in that space of time be not a people. Isaiah, ch. vii. ver 8.	299
42 27. 1.	which were left. Now it is plain this could not be till the 23d year of Manasseh; which corresponds with the 65th year from the prophecy spoken in the 1st year after Jotham's death. 2 Chr. ch. xxxiii. ver. 11.	24		300
43 27. 2.	The duration of Manasseh's captivity is not expressed; but, as it is not noticed in the Book of Kings, it was probably short. The reformation in him was, however, permanent and complete; and he was rewarded with a long reign, during which he encouraged true religion, and banished idolatry; though the	25	The prophet Nahum seems to have written his denunciation against Nineveh about this time, at least after the invasion of the Assyrians; for he promises the Jews, <i>the wicked shall no more pass through them</i> . Nahum, ch. i. ver. 15. This was certainly meant to exercise the faith of the Jews, as the Assyrians were	301
44 27. 3.	people did still sacrifice in the high places, but only to the Lord their God. 2 Chr. ch. xxxiii.	26	then in the highest glory. It seems to have been spoken after the reformation of Manasseh, as the Jews are encouraged to keep their <i>solemn feast</i> ; and no mention is made of their idolatry. This prophet seems to allude to the destruction of No-Amon, or Thebes in Egypt,	302
45 27. 4.	It is very probable Efarhaddon released many Jews, together with Manasseh, which seems to have been foretold by Isaiah, ch. xiv. ver. 1. for in this return the Jews were joined with strangers; but Shebna, the scribe, was detained in captivity, and the righteous Eliakim placed in his office as treasurer. Isaiah, ch. xxii. ver. 15.	27	as a recent transaction. Nahum, ch. iii. ver. 8—10.	303
46 28. 1.		28		304
47 28. 2.		29		305



Contemporary Events and Egyptian Annals.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A.C.
	74] ΑΣΣΑΡΑΔΙΝΟΥ. [7 About this time, Esarhaddon, being settled in the empire, endeavours to prosecute his father's intentions against Judea, and to force them to pay the tribute laid in the days of Ahaz.	4] ARDYS.	DEIOCES. [36	674
It appears from Isaiah, that Egypt was greatly distracted by civil divisions; so that Esarhaddon, the fierce king, must find an easy conquest. See Isaiah, ch. xix. ver. 1. ch. xx. ver. 3—6.	75] Egypt was probably invaded [8 this year, or the next. No-Amon was at that time destroyed.	5] Some time in this reign, [37 Ardys takes Priene, and makes war on Miletus.		673
The Pisæans eject the Eleans, and celebrate the Olympic games in their own name.	76] [9	6] This invasion was to last [38 3 years, as is probable from Isaiah; consequently the Assyrians retired the next year.		672
The following Egyptian Annals are taken from Herodotus, and inserted here, as being consistent with the sacred Scriptures.	77] Feb. 7. [10 About this time the colonies of Esarhaddon, in the beginning of their dwelling in Samaria, are infested by lions; on which they desire to know the worship of the God of the land. A priest is sent to instruct them; but, as he re-	7] TULLUS HOSTILIUS [39 succeeds Numa, 2d year 27th Olympiad. DION. HAL.		671
1] PSAMMITICHUS, and 11 other princes, reign over part of Egypt, and, when the Assyrians were departed, divide the whole into 12 parts, and govern it 15 years.	78] sided at Bethel, this first [11 reformation was very imperfect. Amongst these colonists there were Babylonians; which proves again that Assaradinus was Esarhaddon. 2 Kings, ch. xvii. ver. 24—41.	8] [40		670
2] If we may credit the Book of Judith, the kings of Assyria considered Egypt as a tributary kingdom some time after this invasion. This dependence could hardly last longer than the first 15 years.	79] [12	9] Most probably the 1st [41 Messenian war began at this time. * Spartans take Amphea. See PREF.		669 Pisistratus, Archon.
3] N. B. Herodotus says, this Psammitichus was the son of Nees, who had been slain by Sabacon, the Ethiopian.	80] The Messenians and Spar- [13 tans ravage each other's territory for the 3 first years of the war. PAUSAN.	10] Pausanias ends the 2d [42 Messenian war this year; but erroneously. Phidon, king of Argos, expels the Pisæans from Olympia, but rejects the Eleans, and celebrates the games in his own name. *		668 Aristophanes, Archon.
4]	81] Feb. 6. [14 ΣΑΟΣΔΟΥΧΙΝΟΥ. SAOSDUCHINUS was most probably king of Assyria and Babylonia.	11] Alcamenes, king of Sparta, [43 dies. * During the 1st Messenian war, Aristocrates, the son of Aechmis, king of Arcadia, violates a virgin at the altar; for which he is stoned by the Arcadians. PAUSAN.		667

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign		J U D A H.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
4048 28. 3.	M A N A S S E H.	30			306
49 28. 4.		31			307
50 29. 1.		32			308
51 29. 2.		33			309
52 29. 3.	Amon born about this time, son of Manasseh.	34			310
53 29. 4.		35			311
54 30. 1.		36			312
55 30. 2.		37		Phigalea, in Arcadia, taken by the Spartans, 2d year of the 30th Olympiad. PAUSAN.	313



Contemporary Events and Egyptian Annals.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A.C.
5] PSAMMITICHUS.	82] ΣΑΟΣΔΟΥΧΙΝΟΥ. [2 N. B. The Messenians draw out their forces against the Spartans. They are parted by the night. *	12] ARDYS.	DEIOCES. [44	666
6] The city of Acræ, in Sicily, founded by the Syracusans.	83] [3	13] Fierce battle between the [45 Spartans and Messenians this year, but not decisive. The Messenians being greatly afflicted by pestilence, and the expences of the war, contract their forces, and fortify Ithome. The Oracle orders them to sacrifice a virgin. * PAUSAN.		665
7] About this time was the first sea-fight recorded in history, between Coreyra and Corinth. See THUCYDI- DES, who places it 260 years before the end of the Peloponnesian war.	84] Caranus about this time might [4 found the kingdom of Macedonia. * See PREF.	14] Pausanias places the foun- [46 dation of Messene, in Sicily, this year; but too high. The Spartans drive out Phidon, and restore the Olympic games to the Ele- ans. * See PREF.		664 Milliades, Arch.
8] Zaleucus gives laws to the Lo- crians in this Olympiad. EUSEB.	85] Feb. 5. [5	15] About this time Lycif- [47 cus, the Messenian, escapes to Sparta with his daughter, who was ordered to be sacrificed. * PAUSAN.		663
9]	86] [6	16] [48		662
10]	87] [7	17] [49		661
11]	88] [8	18] [50		660
12]	89] Feb. 4. [9	19] [51		659 Milliades, A. H. Her.

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign		J U D A H.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
4056 30. 3.	M A N A S S E H.	38			314
57 30. 4.		39		This Olympic year the Spartans attack Ithome. A battle is fought, and Euphaes, king of Messenia, slain in his 13th year. Aristodemus chosen to succeed him. *	315
58 31. 1.		40			316
59 31. 2.		41		This year Cypselus expelled the Bacchiadæ out of Corinth, and established himself on the throne, according to Aristotle, for 30 years.	317
60 31. 3.	Those who place the invasion of Holofernes in this year, cannot easily account why no mention is made of the king, Manasseh, in the Book of Judith. See PREF.	42		N. B. Cypselus was descended from Melas, contemporary with Aletes, the first of the Heraclidæ who reigned at Corinth. See the year 879.	318
61 31. 4.		43		Aristodemus, king of Messenia, in his 5th year fights a fierce battle with the Spartans.	319
62 32. 1.		44			320
63 32. 1.		45			321



Contemporary Events and Egyptian Annals.	Era of Nabonassar.		Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A.C.
13] PSAMMITICHUS.	90]	ΣΑΟΣΔΟΥΧΙΝΟΥ.	[10	20] ARDYS. DEIOCES. [52	658
14] If we count from the 20th of Charilaus, when Lycurgus had finished the legislation of Sparta, the 65th year falls at this time, when, according to Paterculus, ROME was built.	91]		[11	21] The last year of Deioces. [53	657
15] This year, Psammitichus, by the aid of foreigners, conquers the 11 kings, and reigns alone.	92]		[12	22] The first year of PHRA- ORTES, in Media. Eusebius places his first year in the 3d of this Olympiad.	656
16] If we placed the events in the Book of Judith here, it would remove one difficulty;—how the king of Assyria could consider Egypt as a dependant kingdom; as it might not entirely shake off the yoke till after the 15 years (when the 12 princes governed the coun-	93]	Feb. 3.	[13	23] If the reign of Deioces [2 began one year later, viz. in the 17th of Hezekiah, this may be the 1st of Phraortes; and then Deioces may have been the Arphaxad of the Book of Judith, and the events there related may belong to these times.	655
17] try) were finished, and Psammitichus reigned alone. Then, too, we might suppose the siege of Ashdod, or Azotus, was the immediate consequence of his revolt; but this would be liable to great objections as to other points.	94]		[14	24]	654
18]	95]		[15	25] We are told Phraortes was a great conqueror, and that he weakened the power of Assyria.	653
19]	96]	The tyranny of Phalaris begins, according to Eusebius.	[16	26] Pittacus, of Mitylene, born. [5	652
20]	97]	Feb. 2.	[17	27] Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, at this time, according to one account of Eusebius.	651

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	J U D A H.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
4064 32. 3.	M A N A S S E H.	46	N. B. Lampfacus and Abdera founded.	322
65 32. 4		47		323
66 33. 1.		48		324
67 33. 2.		49		325
68 33. 3.	Josiah, son of Amon, born; being 8 years old, when he began to reign. 2 Chr. ch. xxxiv. ver. 1.	50		326
69 33. 4.	Eusebius places the 1st year of Josiah's reign in the 4th of the 33d Olympiad.	51	About this time flourished Terpander the musician, who, according to the Parian Chronicle, seems to have been tried this year, before the people of Sparta, for adding two strings to the lyre. Eusebius places this artist in the next Olympiad.	327
70 34. 1.		52		328
71 34.		53		329



Contemporary Events and Egyptian Annals.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A. C.
21] PSAMMITICHUS. Grinus, king of Thera, descended from Theras, consults the Delphian Oracle, and is ordered to go to Lybia. The advice being neglected, there was a dearth in Thera for 7 years.	98] ΣΑΘΣΔΟΥΧΙΝΟΤ. [18]	28] ARDYS. [7]	PHRAORTES.	650
22]	99] N. B. About this time Plu- [19] tarch places the institution of the Ephori at Sparta, during the reign of Theopompus. Elatus was the first who bore the office. This event should probably be placed some years higher.	29] Polydorus and Theopomp- [8] us, kings of Sparta, put an end to the 1st Messenian war. Ithome taken. *		649
23]	100] [20]	30] Pisander, a Rhodian, wrote [9] verses on Hercules. SUIDAS.		648
24]	101] ΧΙΝΙΛΑΔΑΝΟΥ. [1] Feb. 1. CHINILADON governed, it is thought, both Assyria and Babylonia.	31] Polydorus, king of Spar- [10] ta, slain by Polemarchus, a Spartan; cause unknown. He is succeeded by EURYCRATES. * PAUSAN.		647
25] About this time Casmenæ, a city in Sicily, founded by the Syracu- sans near 20 years after Actæ.	102] [2]	32] The reign of Eurycrates [11] was pacific; both the Argives and Messenians resting quiet. Duration of his reign unknown.		646
26] Ashdod was taken by Psam- mitichus after a siege of 29 years. Now it could not begin before the 16th year, for the land was in disunion for the first 15 years; nor after the 26th, as the 29 years would not be completed in this reign. HEROD.	103] [3]	33] By the Parian Chron. [12] Dropilus was Archon this year at Athens.		645
27] At the siege of Azotus, or Ashdod, Psammitichus preferred the foreign troops to the native Egyptians; on which 240,000 of his countrymen revolted to the Ethiopians. Diod. Sic. and HEROD.	104] [4]	34] The Pisæans, under the [13] conduct of Pantaleon, seize the presi- dency of the Olympic games a 2d time.		644
28] The Theræans, under the con- duct of Corobius, land in the island Platæa, in Africa. A ship of Samos relieves Corobius, and is driven after to Tartessus in Spain.	105] Jan. 31. [5]	35] [14]		643

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	J U D A H.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
4072 34. 3.	M A N A S S E H.	54		330
73 34. 4.	Manasseh dies, and is buried in his sepulchre, in the garden of Uzza. 2 Kings, ch. xxi. ver. 18.	55		331
74 35. 1.	A M O N. This king reigns wickedly, as his father Manasseh had done. 2 Chr. ch. xxxiii. ver. 21, 22.	1		332
75 35. 2.	Eusebius gives 12 years to Amon; following some bad copy of the LXX. In his 2d year his own servants conspire against him, and slay him in his own house. 2 Chr. ch. xxxiii. ver. 24.	2	Amon, like Manasseh, was buried in the garden of Uzza. 2 Kings, ch. xxi. ver. 26.	333
76 35. 3.	J O S I A H. The people of Judah slay the murderers of Amon, and make Josiah, his son, king at 8 years old. 2 Chr. ch. xxxiii. ver. 25. ch. xxxiv. ver. 1. Though the king might be well disposed, it is plain from Jeremiah the people were prone to idolatry, and the altars of Baalim were still the places and object of worship.	1		334
77 35. 4.		2	Zephaniah prophesied during this reign, and (from his description of the religion and civil policy) before the reformation. If the invasion of Holofernes can be placed during the minority of Josiah, it was probably before that deliverance that the prophet spoke his denunciation; as it does not seem to be alluded to by him.	335
78 36. 1.		3		336



Contemporary Events and Egyptian Annals.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A.C.
29] PSAMMITICHUS.	106] XINIAΔΔANOT.	[6] ARDYS. 36]	PHRAORTES. [15]	642
30] The Theræans send 2 galleys to Lybia, under Battus, a young man; but they return home.	107]	[7] 37]	[16]	641
31] Being compelled again to set sail, Battus lands with his Theræans in Plataea.	108] N. B. Thales, of Miletus, [8 born, according to Diog. Laertius. Lived, some say, 70, others 90 years. Eusebius says, he now began to flourish.	[8] 38] According to Pliny, the Temple of Diana, at Ephesus, was begun about this time.	[17]	640 Damascus, Archon.
32]	109] Jan. 30.	[9] 39] Pittacus, of Mitylene, born. DIOD. LAER. ANCUS MARTIUS succeeds Tullus Hostilius at Rome, 2d year of the 35th Olympiad. DION. HAL.	[18]	639
33] Battus and his colony leave Plataea, and go to Delphi. The Oracle confirms the order of their settling in Lybia.	110]	[10] 40] Solon born, the son of Exceestides, of Salamis, about this time.	[19]	638
34] Battus and his company sail for Lybia, and land opposite the island Aziris; where they stay 6 years.	111]	[11] 41] About this time Persia was most probably conquered by the Medes, and continued subject till the reign of Cyrus.	[20]	637
35]	112] The empire of Assyria included, at this time, all Assyria Proper, Mesopotamia, Elymais, where Susa stood, and Chelod; which adhered to him. The revolted kingdoms and states, who refused his orders, were Persia, Cilicia, all Syria Proper, Judea, Samaria, and Egypt, as far as Ethiopia. Judith, ch. i.	[12] 42]	[21]	636 Epizetus, Archon.

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	J U D A H.	Years of Ezra's Prediction
4079 36. 2.	J O S I A H.	4		337
80 36. 3.	In this year we may as probably, as at any other time, fix the invasion of Judea by Holofernes; Josiah being a minor, and the government under the direction of the High Priest; who is called Joacim in the Book of Judith. See PREF.	5		338
81 36. 4.		6	Those Scythians who attacked Media, were not extirpated till the 28th year. Madyes, the son of Protothyas, was king of Scythia. HEROD.	339
82 37. 1.		7	Stesichorus, the poet, born in this Olympiad. SUIDAS.	340
83 37. 2.	Eliakim born, being 25 years old when he mounted the throne. 2 Kings, ch. xxiii. ver. 36. 2 Chr. ch. xxxvi. ver. 5. His mother's name Zebudah, daughter of Pedaias, of Rumah. N. B. He was afterwards called Jehoiakim.	8	Josiah, now 16, as soon as he enters upon the government, begins to seek after the God of David, his father; but the reformation seems difficult and slow.	341
84 37. 3.		9		342
85 37. 4.	Jehoahaz born, being 23 years old when he mounted the throne. 2 Kings, ch. xxiii. ver. 31. His mother Hamutal, daughter of Jeremiah, of Libnah.	10		343
86 38. 1.		11		344



Contemporary Events and Egyptian Annals.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A.C.
36] PSAMMITICHUS.	113] XINIAΔANOT. Jan. 29.	[13] ARDYS.	PHRAORTES. 43] This year Phraortes slain [22 at the battle of Ragau, having reigned about 22 years. Succeeded by his son, CYAXARES.	635
37]	114] Holofernes, the general of [14 Assyria, takes all Cilicia and Syria with the coasts; but fails in Judea, and is slain, and his army routed at Bethulia. JUDITH.	[14] 44] Cyaxares, king of Media, [1 to revenge his father's death, marches against the Assyrians, whose forces were divided, and besieges Nineveh.		634
38]	115]	[15] 45] A vast army of Scythians [2 attacking Media, Cyaxares raises the siege of Nineveh; is defeated by the Scythians, and obliged to give up part of his kingdom. HEROD. Eusebius agrees in this date.		633
39]	116]	[16] 46]		[3] 632
40]	117] Jan. 28.	[17] 47] These Scythians had driven [4 the Cimmerians out of Europe, and pursued them into Asia.		631
41] Battus, by the recommenda- tion of the Lybians, founds Cyrene. Sinope, in Pontus, and Lipara, are founded about the same time. EUSEB. HEROD.	118]	[18] 48]		[5] 630
42] About this time Pammilus, of Megara in Sicily, leads a colony, and founds Selinus. EUSEB.	119]	[19] 49] Ardys, king of Lydia, [6 dies, having reigned 49 years. HEROD.		629
43]	120]	[20] 1] SADYATTES, son of Ar- [7 dys, succeeds to the kingdom of Lydia.		628

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	J U D A H.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
4087 38. 2.	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>J O S I A H.</b></p> <p>In the 12th year of his reign he purges Judah and Jerusalem from the high places, groves, and images, which he destroys or breaks to pieces; and between this and the 18th year of his reign he carries on the same reformation through Ephraim, Manasseh, and Naphtali. From whence it should seem that the new colonies, sent by Esarhaddon, had not yet occupied much of the country of Samaria.</p>	12		345
88 38. 3.	<p>Jeremiah this year begins to utter his prophecies against Judah, ch. i. ver. 2. It is plain from him the Jews were still prone to idolatry. The Lord, in punishment, had withheld the latter rain, which might create a dearth, Jeremiah, ch. iii. ver. 3. ch. xiv. ver. 1. and this dearth be increased by a plague of locusts.</p>	13		346
89 38. 4.		14	<p>Joel the prophet seems to allude to this dearth, and describes it as just past, ch. ii. ver. 21—27. He prophesies the desolation of Judah, as typified by the locusts, and promises a restoration of happiness. These denunciations might bring about the 2d reformation, in the 18th of Josiah.</p>	347
90 39. 1.		15		348
91 39. 2.		16		349
92 39. 3.		17		350



Contemporary Events and Egyptian Annals.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A.C.
44] PSAMMITICHUS. ROME built, according to Newton, by Romulus. Psammitichus, king of Egypt, about this time evades the attack of the Scy- thians, by distributing large sums of money amongst them. Ashdod might be taken, as the blockade was probably begun in his 17th year. The city was ruined, and hence called by Jeremiah the remnant of Ashdod.	121] XINIAΔΔΑΝΟΥ. Jan. 27.	[21] SADYATTES. CYAXARES. 2] The Scythians divide their [8 forces. Part of them attack Syria, and proceed towards the borders of Egypt: probably about this time.		627
45]	122] Procles, tyrant of Epi- [22 daurus, gives his daughter to Perian- der, of Corinth, about this time.	3] The Scythians, in their re- [9 turn from Egypt, plunder the Temple of Ascalon. HEROD.		626
46]	123] NABΟΠΟΛΑΣΣΑΡΟΥ. [1 Nebopul-Assur revolts, as it should seem, from Assyria; whether at the death of Chiniladon, is doubtful, but very probable. Polyhistor informs us, that Nebopul-Assur routed Saracus, king of Assyria, and reigned over Chaldea and Babylon. SYNCELLUS.	4] Periander seizes the power [10 at Corinth after the death of Cypselus, and reigns 44 years. ARIST. Polit.		625
47] Epidamnum founded at this time by the Corcyreans. EUSEB.	124]	5] Bias, of Priene, flourishes [11 about this time. Draco publishes his laws, at Athens, in the 39th Olympiad. SVIDAS.		624
48]	125] Jan. 26.	6]		623
49] ROME built this year ac- cording to Virgil; the 300th from Alba being founded. *	126] Phalaris, of Agrigentum, [4 loses the power. HIERON'S EUSEBIUS. He was slain by Telemachus, the 4th generation from Theron upwards.	7] 1st year of the war be- [13 tween Sadyattes and the city of Mile- tus.		622

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign		J U D A H.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
4093 39. 4.	J O S I A H. Josiah repairs the Temple. The law is found, and read to the king, who, terrified with the threats, consults Huldah the prophetess. She threatens immediate vengeance, but declares, the piety of the king had procured a	18			351
94 40. 1.	reprieve for Judah. On this the king has the law read to the people, and enforces obedience throughout the land. The passover is celebrated. From Ezekiel it is plain the threats were suspended for 40 years. 2 Kings, ch. xxii. ver. 8—20. ch. xxiii. ver. 1—25.	19			352
95 40. 2.	2 Chr. ch. xxxiv. ver. 8—13. ch. xxxv. ver. 1—19. There had been no such passover celebrated since the days of Samuel; for, says Josephus, the law was more strictly adhered to than it had been before during the regal state. 2 Kings, ch. xxiii. ver. 22. 2 Chr. ch. xxxv.	20			353
96 40. 3.	ver. 18. JOSEPH. ANTIQ. I. x. c. 4. Hilkiah, at this time, High Priest.	21			354
97 40. 4.		22			355
98 41. 1.	Zedekiah born to Josiah this year, who mounted the throne 21 years old. His mother's name was Hamutal, daughter of Jeremiah, of Libnah. 2 Kings, ch. xxiv. ver. 18. He was the 3d son of Josiah. 1 Chr. ch. iii. ver. 15.	23		According to Solinus, Battus founds Cyrene this 1st of the 41st Olympiad.	356
99 41. 2.		24			357
100 41. 3.	Jehoiachin born this year; 18 years old when he began to reign; son of Jehoiakim, son of Josiah. 2 Kings, ch. xxiv. ver. 8.	25			358



Contemporary Events and Egyptian Annals.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A.C.
50] PSAMMITICHUS.	127] ΝΑΒΟΠΟΛΑΣΣΑΡΟΥ.	[5] SADYATTES. CYAXARES. 8] 2d year of the Miletian war. [14		621
51]	128]	[6] 9] 3d year of the Miletian war. [15 Thraſybulus was tyrant of Miletus. The Miletians were afflicted by the Chians.		620
52]	129] Jan. 25.	[7] 10] 4th year of the Miletian [16 war.		619
53]	130]	[8] 11] 5th year of the Miletian [17 war.		618
54]	131]	[9] 12] Sadyattes, king of Lydia, [18 dies; having reigned 12 years. HEROD. This was the 6th year of the Miletian war.		617
1] NECUS, or NECHO. This king, some time in his reign, sent Phœnician sailors down the Red Sea; who returned, in the 3d year, by the Mediterranean. This was the first time Africa was circumnavigated. HEROD.	132]	[10] 1] ALYATTES succeeds to [19 the throne of Lydia. HEROD. 7th year of the Miletian war.		616 Hecataeus, Arch.
2]	133] Jan. 24.	[11] 2] 8th year of the Miletian [20 war. TARQUINIUS PRISCUS succeeds Ancus Martius, 2d year, 41st Olym- piad. DION. HAL.		615
3]	134]	[12] 3] 9th year of the Miletian [21 war.		614

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	J U D A H.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
4101 41. 4.	J O S I A H.	26		359
2 42. 1.		27	Stesichorus, the poet, flourishes. Alcæus, the poet, assists Pittacus in slaying Melanchrus, tyrant of Lesbos.	360
3 42. 2.		28		361
4 42. 3.		29		362
5 42. 4.		30		363
6 43. 1.	Eusebius gives 32 full years to Josiah.	31		364
7 43. 2.	J E H O I A K I M. Josiah slain this year, at the battle of Me- giddo, against Pharaoh-Necho, who takes Je- rusalem; and most probably took Eliakim, Jo- siah's eldest son, with him, in his march to Carchemish. In his absence the Jews set up JEHOAHIAZ, the younger son, who, after reigning 3 months, is deposed by Necho, who crowns Eliakim, but calls him Jehoiakim. 2 Kings, ch. xxiii, ver. 29—37. 2 Chr. h. xxxv. ver. 20—27. ch. xxxvi. ver. 1—5.	1	Jeremiah prophesies, about this time, against the Philistines, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Hazor, that they should be destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar, ch. xlvii, xlviii, and xlix, to ver. 33. Restoration promised to Moab, ch. xlviii, ver. 47.	365



Contemporary Events and Egyptian Annals.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A. C.
4] N E C U S.	135] NABΟΠΟΛΑΣΣΑΡΟΥ.	[13] ALYATTES.	CYAXARES.	613
		4] 10th year of the Miletian war.	[22]	
5]	136]	[14] 5] 11th year of the Miletian war.	[23]	612
		Pittacus, of Mitylene, delivers his country from tyranny.		
6]	137] Jan. 23.	[15] 6] 12th year of the Miletian war.	[24]	611
		The Temple of Minerva burnt ; which produces a peace.		
7] N. B. Aristomenes persuades the Messenians to revolt.	138] Tyrtæus, the poet, flourishes. *	[16] 7] Anaxander and Anaxidamus, kings of Sparta, begin the 2d Messenian war. *	[25]	610
8]	139]	[17] 8] Sappho, of Lesbos, flourishes, with Herinna : both poetesses.	[26]	609
		SUIDAS.		
9] Jeremiah prophesies the destruction of Necho's army, about this time. Jeremiah, ch. xlvi. ver. 3—12.	140]	[18] 9] About this year was the massacre of the Scythians in Media. Cyaxares recovers all his power.	[27]	608
10] Necho, taking advantage of the troubles in Assyria, marches against Carchemish, and takes it ; and returns at the end of three months, carrying Jehoahaz prisoner into Egypt.	141] Jan. 22. As the king of Assyria existed at this time, we cannot place the destruction of Nineveh before this year ; nor could it be long after, for from this time the Babylonians seem to be conquering (jointly with the Medes) the empire of Assyria.	[19] 10] About this time PERDICCAS settles himself in Macedonia, and is called the first king.* See PREF.	[28]	607

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Captiv. of Jehoiak.	J U D A H.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
4108 43. 3.	<b>J E H O I A K I M.</b> Jeremiah, about this time, prophesies against Judah, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyrus, Zidon. He is arraigned, but protected by Ahikam. Urijah, the prophet, flying into Egypt, is brought back, and slain by Jehoiakim. Jeremiah, ch. xxv, xxvi, xxvii.	2		The prophet Habakkuk's prediction was most probably at this time; after the invasion of Necho, and before that of Nebuchadnezzar.	366
9 43. 4.	Jerusalem is taken by Nebuchadnezzar; the holy vessels carried off in part, and the king made tributary. 2 Kings, ch. xxiv. ver. 1. 2 Chr. ch. xxxvi. ver. 6, 7.	3	1	1st year of the CAPTIVITY of JEHOIAKIM. Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, carried captives to Babylon. Daniel, ch. i. ver. 1—7.	367
10 44. 1.	Jeremiah orders Baruch to write out his words on the roll of a book. Jeremiah, ch. xxxvi. ver. 1—4.	4	2	This year, the 23d from the 13th of Josiah, the 1st of Nebuchadnezzar, the prophecy against Judah, Egypt, Uz, Philistia, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Arabia, Tyrus, Zidon, Elam, Media, the kings of the North, Sheshach. Jeremiah, ch. xxv.	368
11 44. 2.	Baruch reads the roll at the time of a fast. Jehoiakim has it read to him: he burns the roll. Baruch writes another, wherein Jehoiakim is threatened with heavy judgments. Jeremiah, ch. xxxvi. ver. 9—32.	5	3	Daniel and his friends having been taught 3 years, are brought before the king of Babylon. Daniel, ch. i.	369
12 44. 3.	Jeremiah about this time, but not later, prophesies the fate of Jehoiakim, who at this time seems to have been in peace building a palace; of Shallum or Jehoahaz, and of Coniah or Jeconiah. Afterwards is given a promise of the Saviour. Jeremiah, ch. xxii, xxiii.	6	4		370
13 44. 4.	The king of Judah revolts; but is grievously oppressed by bands of Moabites, Ammonites, Chaldees, and Syrians. 2 Kings, ch. xxiv. ver. 1, 2.	7	5	In the 4th year of the 44th Olympiad, 20th of September, the sun was eclipsed 9 digits. Foretold by Thales.	371
14 45. 1.		8	6	N. B. Cylon, of Athens, married to a daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, endeavours to gain the sovereign power at Athens, by seizing the citadel. He is overpowered, and flies. Megacles punishes the partizans with death. THUCYD.	372
15 45. 2.		9	7		373



Contemporary Events and Egyptian Annals.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A.C.
11] N E C U S. Necho seems to have received tribute this year from Jehoiakim.	142] ΝΑΒΟΠΟΛΑΣΣΑΡΟΥ. [20	ALYATTES. CYAXARES. 11] About this time Pittacus, [29 of Mitylene, kills Phrynon, the Athenian, in the dispute about Sigeum. EUSEB. War between the Medes and Lydians.		606
12] Pythagoras most probably born about this year; 18 years before he gained the prize at Olympia.	143] Nebuchadnezzar, called [21 king this year; one year before his father's death. Daniel, ch. i. ver. 1. N. B. As the year in this era begins before the Jewish, we cannot suppose Nebuchadnezzar really king, unless in partnership.	12] The Edomites insult [30 over the Jews, for which they are severely reprov'd by Obadiah, and their destruction prophesied; which was completed by the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar. The Book of Obadiah cannot be placed much later, as the captivity		605
13] We are told by Jeremiah, that Necho had lost all his acquired territories before this year. Jeremiah, ch. xlv. ver. 2. At this time he prophesies the utter destruction of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar; giving at the same time a description of Necho's retreat, as a fact passed.	144] ΝΑΒΟΚΟΛΑΣΣΑΡΟΥ. [1 Nebopol-Assur dies. NEBUCHADNEZZAR succeeds; the Nabocol-Assur of the era.	13] he refers to must be that [31 under Jehoiakim; for the last captivity, under Zedekiah, was after the destruction of Edom.		604
14]	145] Jan. 21. [2 Daniel interprets the vision of the image representing the four great Empires: the Assyrian, of gold; the Persian, of silver; the Macedonian, brass; and the Roman, iron. Daniel, ch. ii.	14] [32		603
15] Perinthus, in Thrace, founded. EUSEB.	146] [3	15] [33		602
16] Necus dies. Succeeded by PSAMMIS.	147] The Moabites, Ammonites, [4 and a part of Syria at least, seem to be subject to Nebuchadnezzar; though the Ammonites had a king in the 19th year of his reign.	16] 6th year of the war between Cyaxares and Alyattes. An eclipse parts the combatants. Peace is made.	[34	601
1] According to Timæus, quoted by Scymnus Chius, the Phocæans founded Maffilia 120 years before the battle of Salamis.	148] Nebuchadnezzar, called [5 Labynetus by Herodotus, and Syennesis, king of Cilicia, are the mediators of peace between the Medes and the Lydians.	17] Astyages, son of Cyaxares, marries Ariene, daughter of Alyattes. Pherecydes, of Syros, born in the 45th Olympiad. SUIDAS.	[35	600 Megacles, Arch.
2] Camarina, a city in Sicily, founded, about this time, by the Syracusians. CYRUS born in Persia.	149] Jan. 20. [6	18] Megacles and his party [36 called execrable, for the murder of Cylon's associates. DARIUS, the Mede, born of Astyages and Ariene.	[36	599

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Captiv. of Jehoiak.	Captiv. of Jehoiach.	J U D A H.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
4116  45. 3.	<b>J E H O I A K I M.</b> 7th year of Nebuchadnezzar, 3,023 Jews are carried away. Jeremiah, ch. lii. ver. 28.	10	8]		N. B. Glaucus, of Chios, a great artist in the reign of Alyattes. Time uncertain. HEROD. He is said to have invented the art of chafing iron.	374
17  45. 4.	Jehoiakim sleeps with his fathers, 2 Kings, ch. xxiv. ver. 6. but his body is cast out un- buried. Jeremiah, ch. xxxvi. ver. 30. JE- CONIAH reigns in his stead, but is taken by the king of Babylon, and carried there. MATTANIAH, his uncle, called ZEDE- KIAH, is made king.	11	9]		Jehoiachin reigned 3 months 10 days. 2 Chr. ch. xxxvi. ver. 9. 2 Kings, ch. xxiv. ver. 8. His CAPTIVITY began in the 11th month of this Jewish year, viz. about February in the next Julian year; it is therefore marked as beginning in the next year.	375
18  46. 1.	<b>Z E D E K I A H.</b> Jeremiah, in the beginning of this reign, prophesies destruction against Elam; and after a certain time, deliverance. Jeremiah, ch. xlix. ver. 34—39. The parable of the good and bad figs uttered at this time. Jere- miah, ch. xxiv. The prophecy of the 70 years captivity, and the return of the Jews, must be placed here. Jeremiah, ch. xxix, xxx. A promise of Christ. Jeremiah, ch. xxxi.	11	10]	1		376
19  46. 2.	Zedekiah takes a solemn oath to obey Ne- buchadnezzar. 2 Chr. ch. xxxvi. ver. 13. His kingdom was greatly weakened by the loss of his princes, his chief men of war, his craftsmen, &c. to the number of 10,000, and all his treasures. 2 Kings, ch. xxiv. ver. 13—16.	21	11]	2	In this 46th Olympiad, the Athenians have the plague, and lose Salamis. Epi- menides called from Crete, to purify the city. DIOG. LAER.	377
20  46. 3.		3	12]	3		378
21  46. 4.	4th year, 5th month, Jeremiah reproves Hananiah, the false prophet. He reproves, too, the captive Jews, and exhorts them to live in peace; as also Shemaiah. Jeremiah, ch. xxvii. ver. 12—22. ch. xxviii, xxix.	4	13]	4	N. B. The 2d Messenian war ended in the 18th year.* See PREF. Aristomenes escapes to Arcadia, which soon after be- comes a free state. See PREF.	379



Contemporary Events and Egyptian Annals.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A. C.
3] PSAMMIS. In this reign the Eleans send an embassy to Egypt. HEROD.	150] NABOKOLAESAPOT.	[7] ALYATTES.	CYAXARES. 19] Solon persuades the ex- ecrables to submit to a trial; but they are all banished. PLUT.	598
4]	151]	[8] 20] Solon, the Athenian, per- suades his countrymen to attack Sala- mis, which they had lost. The island recovered about this time.	38]	597
5]	152]	[9] 21] Destruction and restora- tion of Elam prophesied. Jeremiah, ch. xlix. ver. 34—39. If it means the province of Elam, of which Shu- shan was the capital, the prophecy of deliverance was fulfilled under Cyrus, who made Shushan a place of residence for the kings of Persia.	[39]	596
6] Psammis undertook an expedi- tion into Ethiopia, at the latter part of his reign. Dies. Succeeded by Apries. HEROD.	153] Jan. 19.	[10] 22] Cyaxares dies.	[40]	595 Philombrotus, Archon.
1] APRIES, king of Egypt.	154]	[11] 23] ASTYAGES, the son of Cyaxares, succeeds him in Media. Solon flourished in the 46th Olym- piad, and published his laws this year. DIOG. LAER.	[1]	594 Solon, Archon.
2] Apries, or Hophra, the son of Psammis, early in his reign plunders Sidon, Phœnicia, and Cyprus.	155] Seraiah sent to Babylon this year in behalf of Zedekiah. Je- remlah gives him a roll of prophecies against Babylon. Jeremiah, ch. li. ver. 59—64.	[12] 24] Cleobulus, of Lindus, one of the 7 wise men, flourished about this time. Croesus born. HEROD.	[2]	593 Dropides, Archon.

J. P.	J U D A H.	Years of the Reign	Captiv. of Jehoiak.	Captiv. of Jehoiach.	J U D A H.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
4122 47. 1.	<b>Z E D E K I A H.</b> Zedekiah, about this time most probably, made an alliance with the new king of Egypt.	5	14]	5	The 30th year from the finding of the law, 4th month 5th day in the 5th of Jehoiachin's captivity, Ezekiel has the vision of the four cherubims. Ezekiel, ch. i. ver. 1—7.	380
23 47. 2.	If this was a sabbatic year, as is most probable, we must here place the release of the bondservants. Jeremiah, ch. xxxiv. ver. 8—11.	6	15]	6	In the 6th year, 6th month, Ezekiel has the vision of the idolatries of Judah, lamenting Tammuz, adoring the sun, and worshipping creeping things. Ezekiel, ch. viii.	381
24 47. 3.	Zedekiah declares his revolt against Babylon about this time. The bondservants are resumed, and Nebuchadnezzar prepares to attack the revolters.	7	16]	7	In the 7th year, 5th month, 10th day, Ezekiel explains to the elders of Judah the misconduct of their countrymen. He refuses to consult the Lord for them. Ezekiel, ch. xx.	382
25 47. 4.	The Ammonites seem to have joined in the revolt against Babylon, together with the Jews.	8	17]	8	Nebuchadnezzar most probably began to afflict Judah with his armies, about this time.	383
26 48. 1.	The 10th month and 10th day, 2 Kings, ch. xxv. ver. 1. Nebuchadnezzar draws the lines around Jerusalem, and besieges it. Zedekiah sends to Jeremiah for an answer from the Lord, who predicts a miserable captivity. Jeremiah, ch. xxi. ver. 1—11. This happened about the 25th of December.	9	18]	9	During the 9th year, 10th month, 10th day, Ezekiel shews the exact time when Nebuchadnezzar began to besiege Jerusalem. Ezekiel, ch. xxiv. ver. 1, 2.	384
27 48. 2.	This year Jeremiah is imprisoned by the king: he buyeth Hanameel's field. The siege continues. Jeremiah, ch. xxxii. 832 persons carried away. ch. lii. ver. 29.	10	19]	10	During the 10th year, 10th month, Ezekiel publishes his prophecy against Egypt, for deserting the Jews. Deliverance is promised after 40 years calamity. Ezekiel, ch. xxix. ver. 1—12.	385
28 48. 3.	4th month, 9th day, Jerusalem taken; the Temple burnt; Zedekiah's sons slain. He is blinded, and carried to Babylon. 2 Kings, ch. xxv. Gedaliah is left with the remnant, who, in the 7th month, is slain by Ishmael, sent by Baalis, king of Ammon. Jeremiah, ch. xli. Johanan, having recovered the cap-	11	20]	11	<b>CAPTIVITY of ZEDEKIAH.</b> [1 Ezekiel prophesies against Egypt in the 1st month, ch. xxx. ver. 20. in the 3d month, Ezekiel, ch. xxxi.	386
29 48. 4.	tives from Ishmael, flies into Egypt, and carries Jeremiah by force; who prophesies against them. Jeremiah, ch. xliii. Seraiah, the High Priest, slain by Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah. Jozadak, his son, carried to Babylon; who died before the return under Cyrus.		21]	12	Ezekiel receives an account of the [2 Temple's being destroyed on the 10th month, 5th day. Ezekiel, ch. xxxiii. ver. 21.	387



Contemporary Events and Egyptian Annals.	Era of Nabonassar.	Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A.C.
3] A P R I E S. N. B. In the absence of Seraiah, High Priest of Jerusalem, Joachim of- ficiates. Baruch, ch. i. ver. 7.	156] NABOKOΛΑΣΣΑΡΟΥ. [13 Baruch reads his book before Jecho- nias the king, in captivity at Babylon; and sends money to his brethren at Je- rusalem.	ALYATTES. 25] Anacharfis, the Scythian, came to Athens the 47th Olympiad. DIOG. LAER.	ASTYAGES. [3	592 Eucrates, Arch.
4] N. B. Callon, of Ægina, and Gitiadas, of Sparta, celebrated sculp- tors about this time. PAUSAN.	157] Jan. 18. [14 The Amphictyons take Cirrha this year, as it seems. The Gymnic contest begun at Del- phi, called Chrematites. PAR. CHR.	26] At this time, or a little [4 before, the Arcadians stone their king, Aristocrates, and establish a republican government. *	[4	591 Simon, Arch.
5]	158] [15	27] Pythagoras born at Sa- [5 mos about this time, in the 47th Olympiad, according to DION. HALIC.	[5	590
6] The Gauls expel the Tuscans from what was afterwards called Cis- alpine Gaul, 200 full years before the burning of Rome.	159] About this time Nebuchad- [16 nezzar, drawing his forces together, doubts whether he should attack Rab- bath, of the Ammonites, or Jerusalem; and is determined, by divination, to attack the latter. Ezekiel, ch. xxi. ver. 19—24.	28] The Messenians settle at [6 Zancle, in Sicily. *	[6	589
7] Apries, at this time, prepares to assist his ally, Zedekiah.	160] Pythagoras gains the prize [17 at Olympia; now about 18. DIOG. LAER. and EUSEB.	29] The Eleans' unsuccessful [7 attempt to recover the Olympic games from the Pisæans. PAUSAN.	[7	588 Phænippus, Arch.
8] Apries, or Hophra, had by this time returned back to the borders of Egypt. Cyrus taken into Media by Man- dane, now 12 years old. XENOPH. CYROP.	161] Jan. 17. [18	30] [8	[8	587
9] Tyre insulting over Jerusalem, is threatened by Ezekiel, 1st month. Ezekiel, ch. xxvi, xxvii, xxviii.	162] This year, in the 12th [19 month, Ezekiel declares, the destruction of Assyria, Elam, Meshech, Tubal, and Edom, was now completed; the princes of the North, and the Zidonians, like- wise conquered. Ezekiel, ch. xxxii. ver. 21—32.	31] The Pisæans, about this [9 time, begin that war with Elis, which soon ended in their utter destruction.	[9	586
10] Apries threatened twice, this year, by Ezekiel, in the 12th month of the Jewish year, answering to our Feb- ruary and March this year. For the following Annals of TYRE, see JOSEPHUS against Apion.	163] [20	32] 48th Olympiad, 3d year, [10 musical games instituted at Delphi. PAUSAN.	[10	585

J. P.	J U D A H.	Captiv. of Jehoiak.	Captiv. of Jehoiach.	J U D A H.	Zedeki- ah's Capt.	Years of Ezekiel's Prediction
4130  49. 1.		22]	13		[3	388
31  49. 2.		23]	14		[4	389
32  49. 3.	In this year Nebuzar-adan carries off 745 persons ; in all 4,600, specified by Jeremiah. As this was the last remnant carried off, leaving only a few of the poorer sort, the calamities of the 390 years are now completed, as mentioned by Ezekiel, as well as the 40 years from the 18th of Josiah.	24]	15		[5	390
33  49. 4.	Hippias, the son of Pisistratus the Athenian, born about this time.	25]	16	Numa died this year, according to Plutarch ; 400 years before the consulate of P. Cornelius and M. Bæbius.	[6	
34  50. 1.	In this year, it is said, the Phocæans of Ionia sent out some colonies to Italy ; which might probably be renewed about 30 years after.	26]	17	N. B. By this account Numa was contemporary with Pythagoras.	[7	
35  50. 2.		27]	18	Milo, of Crotona, crowned, at Olympia, victor.	[8	
36  50. 3.		28]	19	About this era, Leon and Agasicles, kings of Sparta ; who were generally successful, except against Tegea.	[9	
37  50. 4.		29]	20		[10	



Egyptian Annals.	Tyrian Annals.	Era of Nabonassar.		Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A.C.
APRIES. [11] Tyre besieged by Nebuchadnezzar, in the reign of ITHOBAL.	Years of the siege. [1]	164]	NABOKOLASSAPOT.	[21]	ALYATTES. ASTYAGES. [33] About this time Libon, [11] an architect of Elis, begins the Temple of Jupiter at Olympia.	584
[12]	[2]	165]	Jan. 16.	[22]	34] Pythagoras, at man's ef- [12] tate about this time, begins his travels. CLEM. ALEX.	583
[13] Isthmian games instituted. EUSEB.	[3]	166]		[23]	35] Periander, about this [13] time, dies at Corinth. Gymnic exercise at Delphi now, called Stephanites. PAR. CHR.	582 Damafias, Arch. 2.
[14] Acragas founded this year, in Sicily, by the Geloans, under Aristonous and Pyphilus. THUCYD.	[4]	167]		[24]	36] Chilon, of Lacedæmon, [14] alive at this time; but old. DIOG. LAER. Pfammitichus succeeds to Periander, at Corinth.	581
[15]	[5]	168]		[25]	37] Two Judges chosen to [15] preside over the Olympic games. PAUSAN.	580
[16]	[6]	169]	Jan. 15.	[26]	38] Corinth, at this time, be- [16] came a free state.	579
[17]	[7]	170]		[27]	39] Dipænus and Scyllis, [17] two Cretans, carve many figures in marble, at Sicyon, and found a school there. PLIN.	578
[18]	[8]	171]		[28]	40] Malas, a sculptor of [18] Chios, founds a school in that island. PLIN. SERVIUS TULLIUS succeeds Tar- quin at Rome, 4th year 50th Olym- piad. DION. HAL.	577 Arche <sup>9</sup> trades, Archon.

J. P.	J U D A H.	Captiv. of Jehoiak.	Captiv. of Jehoiach.	J U D A H.	Zede- siah's Capt.
4138 51. 1.		30]	21		11
39 51. 2.		31]	22		12
40 51. 3.		32]	23		13
41 51. 4.		33]	24	N. B. The 14th year from the destruction of the Temple, begins about June this year.	14
42 52. 1.	Abaris, the Scythian, comes into Greece. EUSEB. Others place his arrival much more early. SUIDAS.	34]	25	In the 14th year from the destruction of the Temple, 1st month 10th day, Ezekiel has his vision of the Temple. Ezekiel, ch. xl—xlviii.	15
43 52. 2.		35]	26		16
44 52. 3.	According to Pliny, the olive not known in Italy at this time. HIST. NAT. l. xv. c. 1.	36]	27	During the 27th year, 1st day of the 1st month, Ezekiel again prophesies against Egypt; whose destruction immediately follows; Tyre being now taken. Ezekiel, ch. xxix. ver. 17—21.	17
45 52. 4.	Pythagoras, the philosopher, born at Samos. JAMBlichus. But probably placed too low.	37]	28		18



Egyptian Annals.	Tyrian Annals.	Era of Nabonassar.		Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A.C.
APRIES. 19]	Years of the siege. [9]	172]	NABOKΘΛΑΣΣΑΡΟΥ. [29]	ALYATTES. 41]	ASTYAGES. [19]	576
20] About this time Apries might begin to feel the heavy vengeance denounced by Ezekiel; beginning with the revolt of Cyrene, which was soon followed by the civil war between him and Amasis.	[10]	173]	Jan. 14. [30]	42]	[20]	575
21]	[11]	174]	[31]	43]	[21]	574
22]	[12]	175]	[32]	44]	[22]	573
23] Tyre taken and destroyed, and Ithobal slain. The Tyrians retire to an island, and build a city there. Old Tyre had stood 676 years.	[13]	176]	During the blockade of Tyre, Nebuchadnezzar conquered many of the neighbouring nations. [33]	45]	About this time, Sufarion gave the first idea of comedy. PAR. CHR.	572
24]	B A A L. [1]	177]	Jan. 13. [34]	46]	[24]	571
25] Apries still makes war on Amasis; but both sides fly at Nebuchadnezzar's approach, who plunders the country, but does not possess it.	[2]	178]	This year, but not till after March, Nebuchadnezzar attacks and ravages Egypt as far as Syene. The people of Ethiopia, Libya, &c. perish with them. Ezekiel, ch. xxx. ver. 4—6. [35]	47]	Pittacus, of Mitylene, dies, æt. 83. [25]	570 Arifomenes, Arch.
1] AMASIS. The Babylonians retiring, Amasis and Apries renew the war. The latter is defeated, and slain by the Egyptians. HEROD. 1. ii.	[3]	179]	Nebuchadnezzar, at rest in his palace, had the vision of the tree hewn down. Daniel, ch. iv. ver. 1—27. About 12 months after he is seized with madness for 7 times, or seasons. [36]	48]	Suidas places Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, in this Olympiad. [26]	569

J. P.		Captiv. of Jehoiak.	Captiv. of Jehoiachin.		Zede- siah's Capt
4146		38]	29		19
53. 1.					
47		39]	30		20
53. 2.					
48		40]	31	Polycrates might seize, or intrigue to gain, authority about this time.	21
53. 3.					
49		41]	32		22
53. 4.					
50		42]	33	N. B. Simmias, of Rhodes, a poet, flourishes about this time; 406 years after the war of Troy. * SUIDAS.	23
54. 1.					
51		43]	34		24
54. 2.					
52		44]	35		25
54. 3.					
53	-At this time there were three factions in Athens, headed by Megacles, son of Alcmaeon, Lycurgus, son of Aristolaidas, and Pisistratus.	45]	36	N. B. Hippocrates, the father of Pisistratus, was descended from Neleus of Pylos. HEROD.	26
54. 4.					



Egyptian Annals.	Tyrian Annals.	Era of Nabonassar.		Lydian Kings.	Median Kings.	A.C.
AMASIS. 2] Herodotus was informed, [4 by the Egyptians, that the long reign of Amasis was prosperous; that he was the first who conquered Cyprus, and made that island tributary. The time	BAAL. [4	180]	NABOKOΛΑΣΣΑΡΟΥ. [37 1st time of Nebuchadnezzar's madness.	ALYATTES. 49]	ASTYAGES. [27	568
3] uncertain; but probably in [5 the latter part of his reign.	[5	181]	Jan. 12. 2d time. [38	50]	[28	567
4] N. B. The kings of Tyre, [6 now mentioned, seem to have been ap- pointed as viceroys by the kings of Ba- bylon; and their trade was probably much interrupted till the 19th of Da- rius. They were very soon a trading	[6	182]	3d time. [39	51] Pythagoras retires to [29 Italy; being about 40. PORPHYRY. DION. HAL.	[29	566
5] people, but in subjection to [7 the Eastern monarchs, who had cur- tailed many of their privileges.	[7	183]	4th time. [40	52]	[30	565
6]	[8	184]	5th time. [41	53] Arrhachion, of Arcadia, [31 gains two victories at the Olympic games. PAUSAN.	[31	564
7]	[9	185]	Jan. 11. 6th time. [42	54]	[32	563
8]	[10	186]	7th time. [43 Nebuchadnezzar's sense returns. He declares his repentance. Daniel, ch. iv. ver. 34—37.	55] Panathenæa instituted at [33 Athens.	[33	562
ECNIBAL, 2 months. CHELBES, probably 1 month.					Hippocleides, Arch.	
9] CHELBES, son of Abdæus, 9 months. ABHAR, High Priest, 3 months.	[11	187]	IAOΑΡΟΥΔΑΜΟΥ. [1 Nebuchadnezzar dies this year, but he probably lived at least one half; con- sequently EVILMERODACH might release Jehoiachin before his 1st year was expired.	56] Pisistratus seizes the go- [34 vernment at Athens. This tyranny lasted in all 51 years. ARISTOTLE. ERA- TOSTHENES. PAR. CHR.	[34	561
					Demetrius, Arch.	